

The Substance of a
S P E E C H

Made in the House of Commons

BY

WIL. PRYNN

of LINCOLNS-INN, Esquire;

On Munday the Fourth of December, 1648.

TOUCHING

The Kings ANSWER to the Propositions of both Houses upon the whole
 TREATY, Whether they were satisfactory, or not satisfactory.

Wherein the *Satisfactoriness* of the Kings Answers to the Propositions for settlement of a firm lasting Peace, and future security of the Subjects against all feared Regall Invasions and encroachments whatsoever is clearly demonstrated. As likewise, That there is no other probable or possible way to settle a speedy, firm and lasting Peace, but by the

Houses embracing and proceeding upon the large extraordinary Concessions of the King in this Treaty, for the Kingdoms present weal and future Security.

And that the Armies Remonstrance, Nov. 20. is a way to speedy and certain ruine; and a meer Plot of the Jesuites to defame and destroy us.

Put into Writing, and Published by him at the importunate request of divers Members, for the satisfaction of the whole Kingdom, touching the Houses Vote upon this Debate.

The third Edition.

MATTHEVV, 5. 9.

Blessed are the Peacemakers; for they shall be called the children of God.

PSALM 68. 30.

Rebuke the company of Spear-men: scatter thou the people that delight in War.

London, Printed for Mich. Spark at the blew-bible in Green-arbor, 1649.



*All flesh is Grass, the best men vanity;
This, but a shadow, here before thine eye,
Of him, whose wondrous changes clearly shon,
That GOD, not men, swayes all things here below.*

The Substance of a
S P E E C H

Made in the House of Commons

BY

WIL. PRYNN

of LINCOLNS-INN, Esquire,

On Munday the Fourth of December, 1648.

TOUCHING

The Kings ANSWER to the Propositions of both Houses upon the whole
 TREATY, Whether they were satisfactory, or not satisfactory.

Wherein the *Satisfactoriness* of the Kings Answers to the Propositions for settlement of a firm lasting Peace, and future security of the Subjects against all feared Regall Invasions and encroachments whatsoever is clearly demonstrated. As likewise, That there is no other probable or possible way to settle a speedy, firm and lasting Peace, but by the

Houses embracing and proceeding upon the large extraordinary
 Concessions of the King in this Treaty, for the Kingdoms present weal and future Security.

And that the Armies Remonstrance, Nov. 20. is a way to speedy and certain ruine; and a meer Plot of the Jesuites to defame and destroy us.

Put into Writing, and Published by him at the importunate request of divers Members, for the satisfaction of the whole Kingdom, touching the Houses Vote upon this Debate.

The third Edition.

MATTHEW, 5. 9.

Blessed are the Peacemakers; for they shall be called the children of God.

PSALM 68. 30.

Rebuke the company of Spearmen: scatter thou the people that delight in War.

London, Printed for Mich. Spark at the blew-bible in Green-arbor, 1649.

1588:01



TO THE
Christian Reader.

Courteous Reader,

TH E importunity of divers eminent Members of the House, and the multitude of false and scandalous Aspersions publickly cast upon my self, and other secluded Members, not only in common Discourses, and (a) News-books; but in sundry Libellous pamphlets, published by the Officers of the Army, and their Confederates, since their late Treasonable unparalleled violence to our persons, and the Houses and our priviledges and freedom, without

the least pretext of Authority; have necessitated me to put this Speech into writing, and publish it to the whole Kingdom and world, which else had expired within those walls where it was spoken, with that breath that uttered it.

The scandals wherewith they have publickly aspersed the secluded and secluded Members in print, are these; (b) That wee are a corrupt Majority, and apostatizing party; self-seeking men; old Royalists; New-malignants; Neuters; Traitors; Men byassed from the common Cause, powerfully carrying on their own designs to secure themselves, and work their own advantage, by a corrupt cloister with the King; and by subtilt endeavours making way for the bringing him in on **TERMS DESTRUCTIVE** to the Publick; a corrupt Majority, designing the establishment of a lasting Dominion between the King and themselves in a perpetuall Parli-

(a) John Goodwin Right and mer: The Moderate: A word to M. William Pryne, (a Libellous empty New-nothing.) (b) The humble Answer of the Generall Council of Officers of the Army, &c. Jan. 3. 1648.

(e) These men disclaim the Covenant as none of theirs, though they have most of them taken it, and declared for it. ment; men walking invisibly in their counsellors of darknesse; Men who have betrayed and forfeited their Trust; so resolutely bent to compleat their design of bringing in the King upon his owne terms, as that though he had finally denied such things, from some of which by (c) their Covenant (whereto they had pretended so much zeale, and others by their publick Faith given) they were obliged not to recede; yet upon what the King had granted, they did upon the Vote past upon the long Nights debate *December, 5.* lay the foundation for a closure with him upon his own terms, or at least for uniting of the interest of him and his party with their owne, in order to another War in that behalf, against the Parliament, and all that should oppose their design. *Thus the Officers; whom their*

(d) *John Goodwin's Right and Might well met, p. 2, 4, 12, 13, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 31, 32, 38.* who alters his Opinions of men and things, as often as the Moon and Times do change.

Sycophant Chaplain John Goodwin, thus seconds and exceeds: (d) That they are the drosse and soile of the Parliament heap; who had manifestly turned head upon their Trust, and given the right hand of Friendship to

(e) *Arras Character of himself and his party, if we consider their late and present actions and proceedings.*

the most barbarous, bloody and inhumane faction among us, who all waited the absolute enslaving and utter undoing of the Nation: Friends and abettors of those who were in Arms against the power of the Kingdome: Members strangely struck with a pestilentiall phrensie; who (e) acted as men bereaved of their senses, and had quite forgotten the business committed to them, and that knew or understood nothing of matters relating to the peace or well-being of the Kingdome, or of those who had intrusted them with this power, whose Counsellors and Votes of late still smiled upon their own Enemies, and the grand and most inveterate Enemies of the Kingdome, but frowned and looked gaskly upon their Friends, and those that constantly guarded them: This madnesse is without all doubt, and Phrensie manifest throughout. That the Parliamentary power was in the hands of these men, but as a sword and spear in the hands of a man distracted in his wits and senses, wherewith he is in continuall danger of doing much harm. That there was a direct Tendency in their proceedings to betray the Nation both in their estates and liberties to their Enemies: That they were become Renegadoes to their trust, and acted by their debates, votes, counsellors and interests in a diametrical opposition to the power and safety of the Kingdome, and to publick good; yea, the upshot

of

of their Parliamentary actions before their removall from the House in the known dialect of politicall prophecy, presaged nothing but ruine and destruction to the Liberties of the free borne Subjects of the Kingdome in generall, and to the lives and estates of many thousands in the Kingdome, whom they stood bound in conscience, in a speciall manner to protect, and did portend either a re-embroyling of this miserable and wasted Nation in war and blood, or else the necessity of patient and quiet subjection of the Nation to the iron yoke of perpetuall tyranny and bondage, together with the certain ruine of the lives and estates of those who had shewed much faithfulness and courage in defence of the Parliament and Kingdomes Liberties: That they were Religious only to a mediocrity: That the miscarriages and errors of the best of them, were of worse consequence, and that there was little hopes of their repentance: That they were men dead to their Trust; no more a Parliament, then a dead man is a man, or a Virgin deflowred is a Virgin: That the seclused Members altered the property of the Parliament, and turned the glory of it into a lye: That had not the Army interposed to such a breach of Rights and priviledges, the peace of the Kingdome had in all humane likelyhood been swallowed up in blood; and the Liberties in oppression and tyranny; the Members denyed the House by the Army, being turned Profelytes to prerogative, and had renounced the law & doctrin of the peoples Liberties: That they were the boil and plague-sore of the Kingdome, to whom had not the Army applyed that plaister of Steel, there had been little or no hope of the recovery thereof. That the Members garbled, dis-hous'd, dethroned, dis-membred, dis-seated, dis-mounted, removed, de-parliamented by the Army, were in their full carreer to the utter undoing of the Kingdome when they were dis-mounted, and consequently that the judgement of the Army looking upon them as persons fit to be discharged of that great Trust, wherein they so prevaricated, was according to righteousnesse and truth. *Thus this black-mouthed Chaplain of Colemanstreet bespatters us with his Saint-like Rhetorique.*

*Never were pure innocent Gentlemen, (Members of a Parliament, and Patriots of their Countrey,) so Libelled against, and publicly traduced in print by a Company of * Cretian-Saints, in any age, as wee have been; (f) Who have bent their pens, and tongues like bowes for lyes, wherein they now place their strength and (g) refuge.*

(b) Rev. 2. No wonder those Saints degenerated so far to act the (b) Devils part, ^{10.} as to carry and cast us prisoners into hell it selfe, and there keep us making upon the bare boards all night without any accommodations, when they seized us; were wee such perfidious Judasses or incarnate Devills, as they would render us to the Kingdome, and those for whom wee serve, before ever they vouchsafed particularly thus to charge us, or bear our just defence, either as Members, or Freemen of England. However, were we every way as vile as they would make us, yet it is as clear as the Noon-day Sun, That these very Officers, and the Army, being not our Masters but Servants, particularly

(i) A Collection, &c.
pag. 224, 425, 599, 623,
694, 705, 727, 757, 800,
380, 464, 537, 686. Ap-
pendix, p. 4. 23.

Exact Collection, p.
35. to 42.

(k) Exact Collection,
p. 18, 200, &c.

A Collection, p. 705.

(l) Exact Collection,
p. 35. to 40. 48. to
57, 215, to 232, &c.

(n) A col-
lection,
p. 201, &c.

(u) The
Generalls
Letters
from Bed-
ford, July
30. 1647.
and his
and the
Armies
Remon-
strance.
August, 18.
164.

(i) raised, waged, and engaged by solemn League and Covenant, among other things, to protect and defend the Parliaments and Members Rights, priviledges, and persons from all Force and violence whatsoever, in such manner as both Houses and the Committee of both Kingdomes should approve, cannot pretend the least shadow of reason or authority from the Law of God or man, thus traitterously to seized, imprison and seclude us, without the Houses license, before any particular charge against us; it being a far more detestable and inexcusable Treason and Rebellion, then (k) Jermins or Percies attempt to bring up the Northern Army to over-awe the Houses, or the (l) Kings coming to the Commons House to demand the five Members, on'y (formerly impeached of High-Treason,) without seiz'ng or secluding them the House, or any other Members; or (m) Wallers, Tompkins and Chaloners Treason, to seize severall Members of both Houses, and bring them to a legall Tryall, as they pretended, and to awe and master the Parliament (for which they were condemned and executed as Traitors, though never actually attempted:) or the Reformadoes or Apprentices unarmed violence for a few hours, without seiz'ng or secluding any Member; which yet the (u) Generall, Officers, and Army in their Remonstrances, Letters, and papers, declared to be Treasonable, and pressed for speedy and exemplary Justice against the chief Actors and Abettors of it, to prevent the like attempts and force for the future.

But what is the true and onely ground of all this outory? Surely the Generall Councell of the Officers of the Army in their Answer of Jan. 3. 1648. Pag. 7, 8, 9, 10. ingenuously confesse; That it was nothing, but

but our vote upon the long nights debate, on the fifth of December last; That the Answers of the King to the Propositions of both Houses were a ground for the House to proceed upon for the settlement of the peace of the Kingdome; being the largest, the safest, and beneficiallest ever yet granted by any King to his Subjects since the Creation: and that we resolved to settle a speedy and well grounded peace, upon most honourable and secure termes for the Kingdomes publicke interest and felicity, not our owne particular advantages, after seven years bloody expensive wars; and refused to follow the pernicious treasonable Jesuiticall advice of these Enemies of peace, (who intend to make a lasting trade of war) in breaking off the Treaty with the King, upon the first tender of their Treasonable Remonstrance, Novemb. 20. (Some few dayes before the Treaty expired) contrary to our publick Engagement both to the King and Kingdome: and would not directly contrary to our Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, our (o) Solemn Protestation, League and Covenant, our multiplied Remonstrances, Declarations, Petitions, Propositions, and Engagements to the King, Kingdom, People, Scotland, Ireland, all forraigne Protestant States and the World, immediately imprison, arraigne, condemn, depose and execute the King; disinherit and banish the Prince, and Royall line as Traitors, dispose of all the Crown revenues towards their arrears; dissolve the present Parliament forthwith, subvert all future Parliaments, and the ancient Government of the Kingdome by King, Lords, Knights, Citizens and Burgessees duly elected, and alter all the fundamentall Lawes and Statutes of the Realme, set up a new Utopian Representative, and supream Anarchicall Tyranny of the people, to destroy both Magistracy, Ministry, Government, Peace, Religion and Liberty at once; betray bleeding, dying Ireland (then near its ruine) to the bloody, Popish, Irish Rebels; and bring speedy inevitable destruction on our three Kingdomes, and those respective Countiees, Cities and Burroughs for which we serve; the only contradictory wayes to peace and settlement, which they prescribed in their long-winded Remonstrance, and the only (p) good intentions (though the worst that ever entred into the hearts of Saints) to justifie their unparalleled force upon our persons, and our false imprisonment ever since, which they confesse in it self to be irregular and not Justifiable.

I doe therefore here in my owne behalf (there being nothing else that can be objected against me but this Speech and vote, which was carried clearly in the House without any Division at all, and by 140. voices to 104.

(o) See
Exact col-
lections:
And a
Collection
of al
orders, &c.
passim.
And the
Attempts,

(p) The
humble
Answer,
&c. Jan. 3,
1648. F. 12.

(b) Rev. 2. *No wonder those Saints degenerated so far to act the (b) Devils part, as to carry and cast us prisoners into hell it selfe, and there keep us waking upon the bare boards all night without any accommodations, when they seized us; were wee such perfidious Judasses or incarnate Devils, as they would render us to the Kingdome, and those for whom wee serve, before ever they vouchsafed particularly thus to charge us, or bear our just defence, either as Members, or Freemen of England. However, were we every way as vile as they wou'd make us, yet it is as clear as the Noon-day Sun, That these very Officers, and the Army, being not our Masters but Servants, particularly*

(i) A Collection, &c.
pag. 224, 425, 599, 623,
694, 705, 227, 257, 300,
380, 464, 537, 686, Ap-
pendix, p. 4. 23.

Exact Collection, p.
35. to 42.

(k) Exact Collection,
p. 18, 200, &c.

A Collection, p. 705.

(l) Exact Collection,
p. 35. to 40. 48. to
57, 215, to 232, &c.

(n) A col-
lection,
p. 201, &c.

(u) The
Generalls
Letters
from Bed-
ford, July
30. 1647.
and his
and the
Armies
Remon-
strance.
August, 18.
164.

(i) raised, waged, and engaged by solemn League and Covenant, among other things, to protect and defend the Parliaments and Members Rights, priviledges, and persons from all Force and violence whatsoever, in such manner as both Houses and the Committee of both Kingdomes should approve, cannot pretend the least shadow of reason or authority from the Law of God or man, *then* traiterously to seized, imprison and seclude us, without the Houses license, before any particular charge against us; it being a far more detestable and inexcusable Treason and Rebellion, then (k) Jermins or Percies attempt to bring up the Northern Army to over-awe the Houses, or the (l) Kings coming to the Commons House to demand the five Members, on'y (formerly impeached of High-Treason,) without seizing or secluding them the House, or any other Members; or (m) Wallers, Tompkins and Chaloners Treason, to seize severall Members of both Houses, and bring them to a legall Tryall, as they pretended, and to awe and master the Parliament (for which they were condemned and executed as Traitors, though never actually attempted:) or the Reformadoes or Apprentices unarmed violence for a few hours, without seizing or secluding any Member; which yet the (n) Generall, Officers, and Army in their Remonstrances, Letters, and papers, declared to be Treasonable, and pressed for speedy and exemplary Justice against the chief Actors and Abettors of it, to prevent the like attempts and force for the future.

But what is the true and onely ground of all this outory? Surely the Generall Councill of the Officers of the Army in their Answer of Jan. 3. 1648. Pag. 7, 8, 9, 10. ingenuously confesse; That it was nothing, but

but our vote upon the long night's debate, on the fifth of December last; That the Answers of the King to the Propositions of both Houses were a ground for the House to proceed upon for the settlement of the peace of the Kingdom; being the largest, the safest, and beneficiallest ever yet granted by any King to his Subjects since the Creation: and that we resolved to settle a speedy and well grounded peace, upon most honourable and secure termes for the Kingdomes publicke interest and felicity, not our owne particular advantages, after seven years bloody expensive wars; and refused to follow the pernicious treasonable Jesuiticall advice of these Enemies of peace, (who intend to make a lasting trade of war) in breaking off the Treaty with the King, upon the first tender of their Treasonable Remonstrance, Novemb. 20. (Some few dayes before the Treaty expired) contrary to our publick Engagement both to the King and Kingdom: and would not directly contrary to our Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, our (o) Solemn Protestation, League and Covenant, our multiplied Remonstrances, Declarations, Petitions, Propositions, and Engagements to the King, Kingdom, People, Scotland, Ireland; all forraigne Protestant States and the World, immediately imprison, arraigne, condemn, depose and execute the King; disinherit and banish the Prince, and Royall line as Traitors, dispose of all the Crown revenues towards their arrears; dissolve the present Parliament forthwith; subvert all future Parliaments, and the ancient Government of the Kingdom by King, Lords, Knights, Citizens and Burgesses duly elected, and alter all the fundamentall Lawes and Statutes of the Realme, set up a new Utopian Representative, and supream Anarchicall Tyranny of the people, to destroy both Magistracy, Ministry, Government, Peace, Religion and Liberty at once; betray bleeding, dying Ireland (then near its ruine) to the bloody, Popish, Irish Rebels; and bring speedy inevitable destruction on our three Kingdomes, and those respective Counties, Cities and Burroughs for which we serve; the only contradictory wayes to peace and settlement, which they prescribed in their long-winded Remonstrance, and the only (p) good intentions (though the worst that ever entred into the hearts of Saints) to justifie their unparalleled force upon our persons, and our false imprisonment ever since, which they confesse in it self to be irregular and not Justifiable.

(o) See
Exact col-
lections:
And a
Collection
of al
orders, &c.
passim.
And the
Attente.

(p) The
humble
Answer,
&c. Jan. 3.
1648. P. 2.

I doe therefore here in my owne behalf (there being nothing else that can be objected against me but this Speech and vote, which was carried clearly in the House without any Division at all, and by 140. voices to 104.

that

that the question should be then put, (though I bee not obliged to render any account or reason of anything I spake or voted in the House to any mortalls but the House alone) appeal to the great and righteous judg of Heaven and Earth, (to whom the Army and Officers have so oft appealed in this cause) to the Burrough of New-port in Cornwall, and all the free Burgeses in it, (who without any privy or desire elected mee for their Trustee and Burgesse) to all the Counties, Cities, Burroughs, and Freemen of England and Wales, to the united Kingdomes of Scotland and Ireland, to all the Protestant Churches, Kingdomes and States in forraigne parts, yea to the Judgements and Consciences of the Generall, Officers and Souldiers of the Army, and to all the rest of the world who shall peruse this Speech, and the Reasons inducing me cordially to consent to the former Vote, and dissent from the Armies Remonstrance; whether I, and the rest of the secured or secluded Members, whom they so oft term, **THE CORRUPT MAJORITY OF THE HOUSE;** or the **GARBLLED MINORITY** who dissented from us and the Generall, and Generall Councell of Officers in the Army, be the greatest Apostates and Renegadoes from our publick trust and duties; the greatest Betrayers and Renouncers of the Law and doctrine of the peoples Liberties and Freedome; the greatest boils and plague-sores of the Kingdom; the greatest mad-men struck with a Pettilentiall Phrensy, the greatest self-seekers of our own particular corrupt interests, the realest re-imbroylers of this miserable wasted Nation in war, blood, oppression and Tyranny. And whether we or they bee most guilty of all those Calumnies and Censures they have thus rashly and censoriously published and cast upon us, before any proof, hearing, or conviction of us, to wound us, and render us odious to the present and all future ages? And whether our deeryed Vote, (q) till the passing whereof, they affirm, they said or acted nothing in relation to the Parliament, or any Member of it; (as if their Remonstrance of Nov. 20. their High Declaration full of Menaces against the dissenting members, Novemb. 30. their removing the Houses former guards, and marching up to London against the Houses command, Decemb. 1. to over-awe the Members in their debate before the Vote passed, were nothing to the House or any Member) or their undutifull Remonstrance, Novemb. 20. be the more honourable, safe, just, conscientious, speedy and certain way to settle a firme and lasting Peace in all three Kingdomes, with most security and advantage to the Kingdomes, and all honest mens publick interest, both for the present, and all succeeding Generations?

(q) The
humole
Answer,
P. 9.

And

And if upon the serious perusal and consideration of the intire Treaty, and of this my ensuing Speech, comprehending the principall grounds and reasons of that Vote (though much more was spoken by many worthy and more able Members in that most solemn debate, which I leave to them to publish if they please,) the Burrough for which I serve, and all others to whom I have here appealed, shall give up their verdict for me, and the other secured and secluded Members, that I and they have herein faithfully discharged our Trusts and duties to God and Man, to the King, Kingdom, Church, people, and Army too, (as we have sincerely done it to our owne consciences, in the uprightness of our hearts and spirits;) wee shall then hope, that all these (r) rayling accusations against us, [and their violence offered to (r) 2 Pet. our persons and priviledges] will vanish into smoke, and returne up- 2.11 I. Jude on their owne pates with highest infamy and dishonour, as being 9. most really guilty themselves of all these false Calumnies against us, and that wee shall appeare spotlesse and innocent from these great pretended transgressions both before God and Men. Howsoever, seeing our owne consciences pronounce us innocent, we shall cheere up our hearts with this sacred Cordiall, Matth. 5. 10, 11, 12. Blessed shall you be when men revile you (s) AND SEPARATE YOU FROM [s] Luke THEIR COMPANY, and say all manner of evil against you false- 6. 22. ly for my name sake; rejoyce and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in Heaven; for so persecuted they the Prophets which were before you: till God in his owne due time and way (t) shall bring forth our righteousness as the light, and our judgement as the noon day, [t] Psal. in this present world, or acquit us of them at his owne tribunall in the 37. 6. world to come, at the great day of judgement, when the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed, and every man condemned or absolved before the Angels, and all mankind by Christ himselfe (u) according to his [u] 1 Pet. 1. 17. workes, not good or evil intentions, or Hypocriticall pretentions, which Rev. 20. 13. may delude the world for a time, but never God nor Christ (x) before [x] Hebr. 4. 13. whose all-seeing eyes, all things are bare and unridged, appearing in their proper colours.

In the mean time, Christian Reader, I submit this plaine-dealing Rude speech to thine impartiall censure, by which I desire to be acquitted or condemned, justified or impeached of the good or evil of the forementioned Vote (the only crime I am guilty of) against all these calumnies and the Armies violence to my person: who have only two pleas to justify their treasonable violence upon the secured and secluded Members, which I shall here briefly examine.

[y] The humble answer,
p. 2.

[z] 1 Sam. 6, 14, 15, 19,
20.

[a] 1 Sam. 15, 13, 14, &c.
c. 13, 68 to 15.

[b] 1 Chron. 13, 9, 10.

[c] Matth. 6, 7, c. 15, 9.

[d] Rom. 13, 1, 2 Tim.

2, 2, 3 Tit. 3, 1, 1 Tit.

2, 13, 14, 15, Gen. 6, 11,

12, Psal. 11, 15, Psal.

55, 9, Isay 59, 6, Rom.

1, 29, 30, 31, 2 Tim.

2, 3, 4, [e] 1 Thes. 5, 22.

2 Cor. 8, 21, Rom. 12, 17.

[f] Mat. 18, 17, 18, 1 Cor.

10, 32, Rom. 4, 20, 2 Cor.

6, 3, 1 Cor. 8, 13, 2, 1 Pet.

2, 11, c. 3, 12.

The first is [y] their honest intentions of publique good.

To which I answer, First, that no pious nor honest intentions can justify or excuse any irregular actions, though neither scandalous nor prejudiciall unto men, but seemingly pious and devout, as is cleare by the examples of the [z] Bethsheemites, [a] Vzza, [b] Saul and [c] others, much lesse can they excuse or justify any treasonable, scandalous and flagitious acts of violence and oppression (as yours are both against the King and Members) against your Oaths, Trusts, Covenants, which are morall sinnes and evils against many [d] expresse Scriptures and that very devine charge to Souldiers Luke 3, 14. Doe violence to no man, &c. 2 That Christians must in no case doe evill that good may come of it: Rom. 3, 8. their damnation being just that doe it, Therefore not so great an evill, so many complicated evils as you now act upon any intents of publike good. Thirdly, Christians

[e] must abstaine from all appearance of evill: provide things honest in the sight of all men; and [f] give no offence to the Gentiles, Churches of Christ, or any others whatsoever, to the scandall of Religion, under paine of severe condemnation. Therefore no pretences of honest intentions for publike good can justify, or extenuate your present irregular and most scandalous actions, which offend all sorts of conscientious, morall and carnall men, and the worst of Turks and beathens will condemn.

4. Your pretended honest intentions for publike good are nothing else but the most Treasonable destructive designs and irreligious Projects against all publike good, peace and settlement, that ever entred into the Hearts of Christians, expressed at large in your Remonstrance and Declaration of Nov. 20. & 30. to which you referre; as, the disposing and murthering the King &c. the evils and wickednesse whereof I have here and elsewhere demonstrated at large; and to justify your horrid force on us, by such detestable intentions, is the very height of wickednesse and atheisme; which highly aggravates not extenuates your violence and crimes.

5. If intentions or pretences of publike good, may be pleaded to justify this force of yours, the gunpowder Traytors, Jermin, Percy, the Apprentices, Challoner, Jack Cade, Jack Straw, all Rebels, and Cavaliers, who all pleaded their honest intentions of publike good; yea, every Idolater under Heaven who worshippeth any Idoll or Devill with

a religious and pious intention, as the true and onely God, and those bloody persecutors, John 16. 2. who thought they did God service in killing the Apostles and Saints of CHRIST, shall by this new Army Divinity, justify their Idolatry and persecution to be no sinne nor crime at all: For shame then let not such an absurd irreligious and wicked excuse and justification as this be ever henceforth named nor owned among Saints, which very Pagans would blush to avow.

The second and chief excuse and justification, is, an * extraordinary necessity for publike good leading them thereunto: *This they endeavour to manifest by sundry particulars: which as they are apparently false and scandalous in themselves, overt tedious to refuse, and waved by them in their first head of necessity, reducing all the grounds of our seisure & sequestration from the House to our Vote of Decemb. 5. so it is but a mere false pretence, and no justification at all if true.*

*An humble answer
p. 2. &c.

But to take away this plea of necessity altogether, it stands but upon these two generall feet. First, that the Members seoured, and secluded, were a corrupt Majority of the House. Secondly, That if they had not thus seoured and secluded them, they would have proceeded to the settlement of a speedy peace with the King in pursuance of this their Vote: Ergo the Army were extraordinarily necessitated to seoure and seclude them. This is the Logick of the whole answer, all surmises concerning forepast miscarriages in the House, and packing of New Elections [in which themselves and their owne party are most peccant, few of their Elections being due or faire, and divers of them voted voyd, as Mr. Fryes, Blagraves, and others who now sit and vote] and all miscarriages concerning Irel. which are false, [specified only without verity or proof against any of us] relating nothing at all to our present seclusion of which they confesse the vote of Decemb. 5. to be the onely impulsive cause. The plaine English of the first ground of their Necessity is this. The Majority of the House of Commons [which in all debates is and alwayes hath been the house] over-voted the Minority or lesser part. Ergo there is a necessity, that the Army should seclude them, that so the smaller Number might sit alone without them and vote what they please, [as now they doe] and null and repeal what ever the Major part had voted repugnant to the Armes designs.

This new Utopian necessity [never heard of nor pretended in the world till now] ought to be eternally exploded, as the horriddest destructive Monster to Government, and States, ever yet produced in the world, as I shall cleare by these particulars.

FIRST, It utterly subverts, the undoubted rights, priviledges, and constitutions of all Parliaments or Councells whatsoever, from

the beginning of the world till now, whether civill, military, or Ecclesiastical, wherein the Majority of voices upon the question, ever carries the Vote, and is still reputed the act of the whole Councell or Parliament. 2dly, It overthrowes the legall forme and proceedings in all popular Elections of Knights, Citizens, Burgesses, Mayors, Bayliffs, Coroners, Verderers, Wardens of Companies, Common-Councell-men & all others, ever carried & determined by the plurality of voices, of those who have right to elect. 3dly, It overturnes their *New Bible*, to wit the *Agreement* of the people, and new Representative, in which themselves resolve, the Majority of the Electors ought to chuse their new Representatives, and the Votes of the Major part of them who meet, ought to bind all the rest, and not the minor part to seclude or sway the rest. 4thly, It will soon dissolve their new erected strange generall Councell of the Officers of the Army, where all matters are yet concluded by plurality of voices, where if the major part should vote against the Kings trayterous beheading, or the *agreement of the people*, the Levellers, being the lesser part, upon this pretended necessity, that they are a *corrupt Majority*, may forthwith forcibly seize on & secure them, and make themselves the only General Councell though the fewest, and act what they please, when the others are secluded. 5ly, It subverts all rules of Judicature & Justice in al Courts of Justice, where there are more Judges & Justices then one, where the majority of voices (as likewise at Committees) over-rule the minority: who upon the pretence of necessity, and being a corrupt majority, may be kept forcibly from or pulled off the Bench, by any persons who suspect they will incline or give judgement against them, in any cause depending before them. 6ly, It lays a foundation for all the Tyranny, villany & oppression that can be imagined, which the Levellers begin in some places to pursue, & the Army too. For example. The King (say they) if he & monarchy continue, will in time grow too strong for the people. *Ergo* there is a necessity we should pul down monarchy & him now, & have no more Kings to rule over us. The house of Lords will be too potent for the Commons & have a negative voice to cross what they shall Vote. *Ergo* we are now necessitated whiles we have power in our hands, to pul downe the house of Lords and lay their honour in the Dust. The City of London was too powerfull, rich and wealthy for the Countrey and us heretofore, and kept down Sectaries from publick Offices, *Ergo* whiles we have the power in our hands, wee must break down all their outworkes, divide & lay aside all their *Militia*, empty their bagges, pull downe their pride, throw out their old

old Officers, put in new ones of our own faction, take away their Liberties and freedom of Elections, contrary to their Charters, & sundry Acts of Parliament, dispense with Common-council-mens Oathes, and so enslave the City to our vassalage. This is their present practise. The Land-lords & Rich men in the Country are too potent for their Tenants, & the poor, *Ergo* we must by force of Armes out of extraordinary necessity, now abate the Tenants Rents, alter their Tenures and Customes, share their Lands and wealth amongst our selves and the poore: and if any poore man by forging an Act of Parliament or otherwise, pretend a Title to any rich mans Lands, turne the rich man out of possession, and put the poore into it: as some Levellers and Souldiers have lately done in *Essex* in the case between Sir *Adam Littleton* and one *Pointz*: against all rules of righteousness, Law and conscience. Such a Monster is this plea of necessity for publick good, already grown unto through the Armes power, and how soon it will proceed to draw the blood of many gallant Gentlemen, Lords, and Members now seclused (for fear they should prove the stronger as well as the major number, and therefore must lose their heads to prevent all future dangers & revenge) God only knows.

The second ground for the necessity of our seisure and seclusion is this: that the pretended corrupt majority of the House would have closed with the King, & settled the Kingdomes peace before this time had they not been secured. *Ergo* the Officers and Army were necessitated to secure them as Apostates from, and infringers of their trusts.

Answer: This is very ill Logick, and worse Divinity. For first, is not the (o) end of all just wars whatsoever, nought else but peace? 2. Is it not Gods command and every Saints and Christians duty [p] to pray for peace? (q) to follow peace with all men? (r) seek peace and pursue it? to (s) study to be quiet and live in peace? to (t) live peaceably with all men, as much as in us lyeth? And is not our God a God (u) of Peace? our Saviour, Jesus Christ (x) the Prince of peace? the holy Ghost (y) a Spirit of Peace? the Gospell it selfe (z) a Gospell of peace? and can, or dare, any Saints then pretend a necessity to levy warre even against the Parliament and Members themselves (which is high Treason) onely upon this pretended necessity, that they desire and endeavour to settle peace in our Kingdom?

[o] 2. Sam. 10. 19. Deut. 20. 10. 1 Kings 22. 41.
[p] Psal. 122. 6. 8. Ier. 29. 7. [q] Heb. 12. 14.
[r] Psal. 4. 14. Ier. 29. 7. 1. Pet. 3. 11. [s] 1 Thes. 4. 11. Cor. 10. 36. [t] Rom. 12. 18. 1 Tim. 22.
[u] Rom. 15. 33. 2 Cor. 13. 11. 1 Pet. 4. 9. 1 Thes. 5. 16. [x] 1 Iay 9. 6. 7.
Heb. 13. 20. [y] Gal. 5. 22. Eph. 4. 3. [z] Rom. 10. 15. Eph. 5. 16.

[u] Lev. 26. 6. Numb. 4.

26. 2 Kings 4. 20. 19.

Psal. 128. 6. Psal. 147. 4.

Isay 26. 12. Jer. 14. 13.

Thirdly, Is not peace the greatest Earthly blessing that God can bestow upon us? and [u] hath promised out of his love to give us as a most **SIGNALL** favour? is it not the thing we have all payed for, fasted for, sought for, paid for, longed for and earnestly desired for many yeares? doe not all Counties, Cities, Villages, Families, yea every sort [except those who make a trade of Warre to enrich themselves by the Kingdomes ruines] but more especially distressed Ireland, cry all out unto us with one unanimous cordiall and continuall clamar, Peace, Peace, for the Lords sake, No more Waïres, no more blood shed, no more plundering, no more free quarter, no more taxes, but Peace, Peace, or else we perish? And if so, the generality of the people and Kingdome, being by the Armies principles, the originall and fountaine of all just power, there is an absolute necessity lyes upon us, who are their trustees to make and settle Peace, but no necessity for the army to hinder or secure us from effecting it, yea a necessity for them to assist us in it, and release us to accomplish it, which by Gods blessing we had done ere this.

Object: All that they can object, is; That we would have made an unsafe and dishonourable peace with the King, upon his owne termes, to the peoples prejudice and enslaving.

Ans. To which I answer: 1. It is the foulest, falsest, and most malicious scandall that ever man could invent, which the ensuing Speech will abundantly refute, to the shame of those who dare to aver it in print. 2. Admit it true: yet an unjust and unequal peace, is better, safer, and more honourable for us, (now we are quite exhausted, and can manage warre no longer, and Ireland so neere its ruine) then the justest Warre; which ought not to be undertaken at first without absolute necessity, and not to continue one houre longer then that necessity endures, especially if it be a Civill Warre between those of the same Nation, blood, Religion; or a defensive Warre, as our Warre is, who have now no armed Enemies to encounter; and so there can be no pretence of necessity to continue a Warre, or so great a recruited Army, unlesse it be to enslave us to martiall Law and Tyranny, instead of peace and Liberty. 3. Neither God, nor the Kingdome, nor Majority of the people, ever made the Army Judges of the goodnesse or badnesse of the intended peace, but the Parliament onely; the onely proper Judges likewise of the necessity of peace or Warre: And therefore for them thus

thus forcibly to wrest this Judicatory out of the Houses bands, without a lawfull calling to it, and to imprison those who are Judges of it, is neither [b] Christian, nor warrantable, but the highest insolency and Rebellion ever offered to any Parliament in any age: And upon this account, every Souldier who hath a cause depending in Parliament, or in any Court of Justice, may by as good Justice and reason pull all the Members out of the Houses, and Judges from the Benches, that would not give Judgement for him, be his cause never so unjust, and make himselfe, or the Generall Councell of the Army his onely Judges, who may proceed to Judgement on his side, before any hearing or appearance before them by his adversary, in such sort as they have proceeded against us.

But admit there were an extraordinary necessity for publick good, as is pretended; yet to make necessity a plea for to justifie any murther or evill, is monstrous in an Army of Saints. [d] Nulla est necessitas delinquendi quibus una est necessitas non delinquendi; *was the Primitive Christians Maxime; who chose rather to die the cruellest deaths, then commit the smallest sinne: Had Hugh Peters, John Goodwin, and these Army-Councellers lived in our Saviours dayes, they could have taught St. Peter how to [e] have denied his Lord and Master thrice together with Oathes and curses, (as the Army have denied and imprisoned their Lords and Masters, and cast them into hell, with Oathes and curses too;) and to have justified it, in stead of going forth and weeping bitterly for it, as he did: because he did it onely out of necessity, to save his life when he was in danger. If these Army-Saints had lived in Iulian the Apostate's dayes, they could have instructed his Souldiers how to have sacrificed to his Idols, by throwing but a branch into the Fire, out of necessity to save many precious Souldiers lives, rather then to be martyred for refusing it: And had Catesby, Faux, Winter, and Piercy wanted an advocate or Ghostly father to encourage them to blow up the Parliament-House, King, Nobles and Commons at once, and justifie it when they had done it; the Generall officers, and Councell of this Army, and their two fore-named Chaplains, (had they been called to that Confederacy as they are to this) would have justified not onely the contriving but the effecting of it, with their plea of extraordinary necessity for the publique good: there being no difference betwene the Armies proceedings and theirs; but, that they would have blown up the King, Lords and Parliament with Gunpowder; and the Army hath now pulled and battered them downe with Gunpowder and armes violence.*

[b] Luk. 12. 13. 14.
[c] 1 Pet. 4. 15.
[d] 1 Thes. 4.
[e] 11. 2 Thes. 3. 11. Heb. 5. 4.

[d] Ter-
tul. Apolo-
gia.

[e] Matth. 26. &c.

violence; and what they did onely attempt modestly and covertly in a Vault, (for which they were condemned and executed as Traytors; though they had no Engagements on them to protect the Parliament;) the Army hath done impudently, in attempting and affecting it in the open view of all the World: against their trusts, duties, covenants. And whereas some of them repented and were sorry for it, these Saints doe not onely not repent of it but persevere in and justifie this Treason in print. Therefore these very powder-Traytors shall condemn them, as being more modest and lesse sinfull then they, who have so many obligations and Vowes upon them not to doe it but detest it.

(f) Joan
Maria-
na: de
Rege et
Regum
Instit. l. 1.
c. 5. 6. 7. 8.
Bellarmin.
De pontif.
Rom. 8. 5.
1. 6. 7. 8.
Ladovi-
cus Riche-
hom Apol.
pro socie-
tate Iesu.
Franciscus
de Vero-
na. Apol.
pro Ioan-
ne Castel.
Aphorif-
mi Doctri-
nae Jesui-
tarum.

2. This plea of necessity for publick good, is the very Justification and Foundation of (f) the Jesuites treacherous practises, to murder, stab, poyson all Christian Kings and Princes whom they deem heretical or obstructive to their designs; to equivocate, lie, dissemble, subvert whole Kingdoms, blow up Parliaments, and act any kinde of villanies. If you interrogate them, why they doe it? or what arguments they use to engage others in that service? they will inform you; That necessity of publike good, and honest intentions to promote the Catholike cause and Popes authority, are the onely grounds and warrant for such irregular and extraordinary proceedings. And for the General Council of the Officers to take up this very Jesuites plea, as the only argument to justifie their late Jesuiticall force and powder-plot upon the Houses; is an infallible argument unto me, that they are swayed and steered by Jesuites in all their late Councils and proceedings.

3. This plea of necessity, if admitted, will be a perpetuall president from the Armies practice and rebellion, to justifie and encourage all kinde of factious and discontented people in all future ages, be they Papilts, Malignants, Neuters, Jack Cades vulgar Rable, or Royalists and Cavaliers, when ever they have sufficient power in their hands, to seize upon, or secure and exclude any Members in all succeeding Parliaments, who vote not what they please, as a corrupt Majority, who have betrayed their Trusts; since an Army of Saints, specially raised, waged by both Houses to defend and protect them from any violence, and engaged by a solemn League and covenant to preserve them from it; have publicly justified it upon these grounds to the Members now sitting, and to all the world, and their Chaplain John Goodwin*: in his Right & Might well- (he should have then said ill-) met, vindicates THE EQUITY & REGULARNES of the ARMIES PROCEEDINGS against us, UPON UNDENIABLE PRINCIPLES, (as he styles them) as well of REASON AS RELIGION, (o monstrous Divi-

* The Tit.
Page.

nity worthy to be burnt by the hands of the Hangman) which will totally subvert the priviledges, freedom, honor and power of Parliaments in all times to come, if not vindicated by some exemplary Act of justice, and a professed law and declaration against such injolencies, as in the * five Members cases. And so much the rather because the Members now sitting under the Armies force, on Thursday the 11. of January, 1648. passed this stupendious Vote, destructive to the priviledges, freedom, honor, safety and being of the present and all future Parliaments, and most injurious and scandalous to the secured and secluded Members, prejudged and condemned both by them and the Army, without ever being heard, or any proofs or witnesses produced, to make good any general or particular charge against all or any of them; which vote we must totally disclaim, and publicly protest against, as the most dishonorable that ever passed within the Houses Walls, being repugnant to the Protection of both Houses, the solemn League and Covenant and many Declarations of the House, inviolably to maintain the Rights, Priviledges, and freedom of Parliament; and the highest breach of Priviledge ever offered by Members to their fellow-Members since there were Parliaments in the world. The Vote is this, That THE HOUSE DOTH APPROVE OF THE SUBSTANCE OF THE ANSWER of the Generall Councell of Officers of the Army, to the demand of this House, touching the SECURING and SECLUDING SOME (to wit, above 200 besides those frighted thence, being half as many more) MEMBERS THEREOF; And appointing a Committee of 24, (whereof most are new elected Members and Mr. Fry, whose election is voted void) or any five of them, to consider what is fit further to be done upon the said answer of the Generall Councell of the Officers of the Army, and present the same TO THIS HOUSE; and the Committee to meet this afternoon in the Exchequer Chamber. The injustice of this vote (beside the breach of Priviledge) will appear by these particulars.

First, in justifying the most horrid and treasonable force of these Officers of the Army that ever was offered to any Parliament or Members in any age contrary to the expresse Statute of * 7 E. 1. * Rastal Arm. I: which the Houses heretofore so deeply resented that they oft declared against it in case of the King, who did only come and demand but * five Members, but seized neither of them; and Impeached Jermin and Piercy of High Treason, only for tampering to bring up the Northern Army; And executed Chaloner and Tomkins for Traytors for * A Col-

* Exact
Collect.
p. 31, to
43.

* Exact.
Collect.
p. 34 to 43.
&c.

* A Col-
lect. p. 201.

conspiring to force the Houses, and seize some Members under a pretext to bring them to justice.

Yea, the Parliament in 4 E. 3. n. 1. among other charges, condemned and executed Roger Mortimer, 'as a Traytor and Enemy to the King and Kingdom, for offering violence to some few Members of Parliament sitting at Salisbury; and forcing others thence. And the Parliament of 21 R. 2. cap. 12. condemned the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, and Duke of Gloucester as Traytors for forcing the King and Parliament, by a power of armed men arrayed in warlike manner, to consent to Bills against their wils; & to adjudg some of the Kings liege people therein, (much more them, if the King himself, as now) to death and to forfeit their Lands and Goods: in the Parliament of 11 R. 2. Yea the Parliament of 1 H. 4. n. 21. 22. articulated against Richard the second, that he held the Parliament of 21. R. 2. *Viris armatis & sagittariis immensis*, and kept an extraordinary Guard of armed men brought out of Cheshire, (who forced, abused, and took free-quarter on the people) the better to over-aw the Parliament, and take away the lives of some Noble-men. And the Parliament of 31 H. 6. cap. 1. adjudged and declared Jack Cade, to be a most horrible, odious, and errant false TRAYTOR, for forcing the King and Parliament held at Westminster, in 29 H. 6. to grant some Petitions, and stirring an Insurrection and Rebellion UNDER COLOUR OF JUSTICE FOR REFORMATION OF THE LAWES; And proceeding upon the same grounds in such manner as the Officers and Army now do; and made void, anulled all judgments and proceeding whatsoever made under the power of his Tyranny: Which the Officers and Army have farre exceeded; in seizing, imprisoning and securing so many Members; (and having the King himself to an illegall triall for his life) which Jack Cade, and his Levellers and Reformers never did. And therefore for them to approve this Act and Answer of theirs, against so many Presidents, declaring it high Treason, must be an unexpiable offence.

Secondly, In prejudging, scandalizing, and condemning above two hundred Members at once, without any proof, evidence, or hearing; when as they ought in Justice to have been heard, and some particular impeachment against them by name, before thus censured.

Thirdly, In approving the many false calumnies laid and suggested against them only in the * generall; the falsity whereof is well known to themselves and the world, and tacitely confessed by the release

Condemned by the Houses in the King. Ex. 2d Col. left. p. 101 20. 3.

of above twenty of them by the Generall and Officers, without any cause assigned for their restraint or particular charge against them; they confessing some of their restraints to be injurious and mistakes.

Fourthly, In being Judges in their own cases, and accusers and witnesses too against the secluded Members; sundry Members of the Commons House, being both Members of the Generall Councell and Army (contrary to the * self-denying Ordinance) as Cromwell, Skippon, * A Col-
Ireton, Harrison, Ingoldesby, Sir William Constable, Henry Iction p.
Martin, &c. and sitting and acting in both; hammering all things they 634.
design in the Generall Councell first, (as the Agreement of the people, and the like) and then presenting them to passe for current in the House, and penning their Declarations, Remonstrances, &c. against the Priviledges and Members of the House; A thing never practised by any Members till these: who make the Councell in the Army the principall engine to carry on all their projects in the House. From which intolerable abuse all the late distempers of the Armie, and mutinies against the Houses have for the most part proceeded.

Fifthly, In that they being but between 40 and 60 Members only, have presumed by this vote and a Declaration of Jan. 15. to censure above 200; and to consent to their long restraint and seclusion, in stead of righting and releasing them; and impeaching or committing the chief Authors of and actions in their securing and secluding, and bringing them to speedy Justice according to their Covenant and * Declarations against seizing any * Exa^d
Members. Collect.

Sixthly, In presuming to passe such a Vote as this, whiles under P. 34. to
a visible armed force; when as this House adjourned and refused to 46. 156.
sit upon the Kings demand of the five Members, till they were righted. 162. 201.
And Mr. Speaker, and most of the Members now sitting, deserted 206.
and fled away from the House, upon a far smaller force then this; even after the force was over, refusing to sit till the Houses were restored to a condition of honor, freedom and safety; and declared all Votes, Ordinances, Orders and proceedings meerly null and void, during their absence; though not made under any such apparent force as is now upon the House, and when there were at least twice as many Members sitting as now, and not one secured nor secluded from coming freely to it without fear.

Seventhly, In justifying these two Jesuiticall and destructive grounds and pretences of this violence upon the House and Members

of honest publique intentions, and necessity for publique ends; which I have proved so absurd, impious and dangerous in sundry respects, and such as by any armed Party whatsoever may be made use of upon all occasions to force and destroy all future Parliaments.

* Knols
Turkish
history, p.
297. 298.

Upon all which considerations, I shall now take out the Solemn League and Covenant, these Members of the House, and Officers of the Army have so solemnly taken and made to God, with hands lifted up to heaven, and most apparently violated in this and other particulars of late; and (in case they proceed still obstinately in these violent and perfidious wayes) shall use the same words as * Amurath the second (sixth King of the Turks) once uttered in the great battail of Varna, when Uladislaus King of Hungary broke the truce hee had made, sealed and sworn to him in the name of Christ, and gave him battail and was like to rout him; Upon which occasion and extreame danger, Amurath beholding the picture of the Crucifix in the displayed Ensignes of the Christians, pluckt the Writing out of his Escome, wherein the late League was comprised; and holding it up in his hand, with his eyes cast up to heaven, said, Behold thou crucified Christ, this is the League thy Christians, in thy name, made with me, which they have without any cause violated. Now if thou be a God, as they say thou art, and as we dream, REVENGE THE WRONG NOW DONE UNTO THY NAME and ME, and SHEW THY POWER UPON THY PERJURIOUS PEOPLE, WHO IN THEIR DEEDS DENY THEE THEIR GOD. Upon the uttering of which words, the Battail presently turned, the perjured King Uladislaus, Cardinal Julian, and many other Bishops and others, (the principall Authors of this scandalous and detestable perjury and breach of Covenant) were slain; with many thousand common Souldiers, and the whole Army routed and sattered. The like exemplary punishment or divine Vengeance these perfidious * Covenant-breakers cannot but expect will speedily befall them, (now they have the fervent prayers of most godly Ministers and people against them, as they had formerly for them) unlesse they seriously repent, reform, and retract all their late perjurious, scandalous actings and proceedings against their multiplyed Oaths, Protestations, Covenants, Votes, Remonstrances, Declarations, Promises, Engagements, and Publique Faith loth to God.

* Rom. I.
31.

God and men, at which conscientious Christians and prophane persons every where stand amazed, and I hold my self in duty and conscience obliged, to (k) reprove them for it in publique, that they may be ashamed, and brought the sooner to reform their detestable exorbitances in this kinde; to the Kingdomes, Parliaments, Kings, Armies ruine, and their own.

(k) Levins
19. 17.
1 Tim. I.
20.
Tit. 1. 13.

Before I conclude, I shall answer only two Scripture-Texts, produced by John Godwin, and others, to justify the force upon us. The first is, David's eating of the Shew-bread, which was lawfully for the Priests to eat; which yet was lawfull for him and his men to eat in case of necessity to preserve life, there being no other bread, 1 Sam. 21. 4, 5, 6. Matth. 12. 4. And that to save the life of a man, ox, or beast fallen into a ditch; a man in such a case of necessity may break the Sabbath, Luke 14. 4. Ergo, The Army in case of necessity may lawfully imprison and seclude the Members. The sum of a his Eooke.

Object.
* Right
& Might,
p. 20. 21.

I answer, That the Argument is a meer inconsequent, if granted: For, first, The eating of Shew-bread in it self was no morall evill; nor the saving of a Mans, Ox, or Asses life, but a thing lawfull and commendable: But the resisting of lawfull Authority contrary to Duty, Oath, Covenant, and offering unjust violence to the persons of those whom the Army are obliged to protect, and have no authority by the law of God or Man to seize or imprison; is a morall sinne against the Fifth Commandment, and many expresse Texts fore-quoted. Therefore the cases are no wayes parallel.

Secondly, The eating of Shewbread, in case of necessity to preserve life only, is neither within the intention nor meaning of Exodus 25. 30. 31. as Abimelech himself acknowledged to David in these words, The Bread IS IN A MANNER COMMON, &c. 1 Sam. 21. 5. And our Saviour himself seems to intimate, Matth. 12. 4. That the pulling out of an Ox or Ass on the Sabbath day, being an extraordinary act of mercy and necessity too, was not within the intent of the Fourth Commandment, though within the words. Whereas the violence done to our persons and the Houses is both within the words and intention of the forecited Texts.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, These two necessities were present, absolute, certain, and that onely to save the life of a hungry or sick person; or of a perishing beast. But the Officers and Armies lives were not now in any imminent danger of death for want of bread; nor their Horses or Asses cast into a ditch by us: and the imprisonment of our persons was neither to preserve their own, nor their horses lives from present death; but to hinder us from preserving the lives of three dying Kingdoms. Therefore these examples and Texts are very extravagant.

* 1 Sam.
21.6.

Fourthly, Though David and his Young-men did eat the Shewbread; yet it is observable, that they did not take it away violently from the Priests, though it were to save their lives, (as souldiers now take free-quarter against mens wills) nor offered any violence to Abimelech's person, nor put him by his Priests Office, (as some Souldiers now forcibly enter into our Ministers Pulpits, when there is no necessity:) But they staid, till they had his opinion in point of conscience, whether they might take it, and till the Priest *GAVE HIM THE HALLOWED BREAD: So as the Argument from hence must be; David and his men, even in case of necessity to save their lives, would not take so much as a loaf of bread, till the Priest voluntarily gave it them: Ergo, the Officers and Army may lawfully take Free-quarter upon, and forcibly seclude and imprison the Members of Parliament against their duties, Covenant, and their consents. Is not this pretty Logick and Divinity from John Goodwin, who deems himself the only compleat Disputant and Divine in the Kingdom? Doth not the contrary directly follow from the Text: Ergo, they ought not to take Free-quarter, nor offer the least violence to their persons without their consents; according to John Baptists Doctrine to Souldiers, Luke 3. 14. Do violence to no man.

Fifthly, The other Argument is absurd: It is lawfull to pull an Ox or an Ass on the Sabbath day out of a ditch, to save their lives: Ergo, It is lawfull for the Officers and Army forcibly to imprison and seclude 200 Commoners out of the House, and keep a force upon the House; yea, to send armed Regiments of Horse upon the Sabbath day round about London streets and the Countrey when there is no necessity) to destroy mens lives and liberties, and three Kingdoms too.

Sixthly, Could Oxen and Asses fallen into a ditch speak, as well as men in a ditch, they would call for help to draw them forth to preserve their lives.
So

So that this *Act* of Charity, (not Violence in pulling them out on the Sabbath day, is with their full and free consents and desires. Then set the comparison right, and the Argument thence must be this: A man on the Sabbath day) out of meer charity and necessity may lawfully pull a Man, Ox, or Ass out of a deep ditch at their requests and desire, (whereas the Jew at Teukensbury perished in the Jakes, out of which he would not be pulled on his Sabbath;) Ergo, the Officers and Army may lawfully cast the Members of Parliament by force and violence into Hell, prison and use them worse then any Oxe or Ass, without and against their consents and priviledges. I hope * Ba-
 laam's Ass with a mans voice, will rebuke the iniquity and mad-
 ness of this false Prophet, and absurd disputer, who is like to * David's
 Horse and Mule, without understanding, whose mouth must be held
 in with bit and bridle, lest he fall upon us hereafter, in such foul
 scurrilous language as he hath done already, in his Might overcoming
 Right, which will vanquish Might at last, in despite of all the Forces on
 Earth.

I have no more to add, but only this, That if holy David himself had now
 been a Member of the Commons-house, or King of England, he had certainly
 been seized, secured and secluded the House by the Officers of the Army, and
 condemned by some sitting Members for this one Divine sentence of his,
 * Psalm 120. 6; 7. My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth
 Peace: I am for peace; but when I speak thereof, they are for War:
 This is my only crime, and those secluded with me, That we passed a Vote for
 the settlement of Peace upon the Treaty. But let me speak to these Members,
 Officers of the Army, and their Chaplain Peters, who are such Enemies to
 our Peace, (which had by Gods blessing been firmly settled and secured before
 this, had not the Army thus violently interrupted us, and put us upon Jesuiti-
 call dangerous new wayes of new Wars and certain ruine instead of peace) in
 the words of our Saviour unto Peter, when he drew his sword, and smote off
 the High-priests servants ear: Put up thy sword into the scabbard, for
 all they that take the Sword, shall perish by the Sword: He that
 will causelessly lengthen out a Warr to the ruine of Kingdomes, when he may
 have Peace upon safe, just, and honorable terms, shall be sure to perish by the
 sword of War, or Justice upon earth; (The true meaning of that Text, Gen. 9.
 6. Who so sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed; more
 properly applyable to Souldiers in the letter, who have slain men in the Wars,
 then to the King himself, who never actually shed any mans blood; who is none of
 those Heathen Kings within Hugh Peters Text, Psalm 149. 7, 8. Whom
 the Army-Saints have not only bound in * Chains, but intend to
 Execute

* 2 Pet. 2.
 16.
 * Ps. 32.
 9.

* All Peri-
 oners for
 Peace are
 now disa-
 bled to be,
 or elect Of-
 ficers, by
 some late
 votes since
 our seclu-
 sion.

Mat. 25.
 52.
 * These
 chains are
 only Me-
 taphorical,
 the chains
 of Gods
 Law and
 Word,
 (not reall)
 Ps. 2. 3. 15.
 45. 14.
 Rom. 20.
 1, 2.

Execute, not with the two-edged sword of the word of God according to the words of the sense of the Text, but with the *Ax* and Sword of Justice, contrary to the Text, without and against all President, Law, and Justice, to the eternall infamy of our Religion, which detest such Jesuitism:) And shall never enjoy temporall, spirituall, or eternall peace in earth or heaven, nor any blessing or protection from the God of Peace, who in his own due time, in despite of all the Devills in hell, and Jesuites, Forces or Armies upon Earth, will create peace for, and settle it amongst us to our own hearts content: The speedy accomplishment whereof, as it alwayes hath been, so it ever shall be the constant prayer and endeavour of

*Thine and his Countryes wel-wisher,
and the Armies Captive,*

From the sign of the
Kings-head, *June* 22.
1648.

William Pryne.



Mr. P R Y N N E S
 L E T T E R
 To the *Borough* of NEWPORT
 in *Cornwall*, for which he serves in
 P A R L I A M E N T.

GENTLEMEN,

B E I N G freely and unanimously elected by you (without my privacy or seeking) to serve as one of your Burgesses in this *Parliament*, I have since my entrance into the Commons House (the 7th of *Novem.* last) endeavoured to the best of my skill and judgment, faithfully to discharge that trust and duty you reposed in me, (according to my Conscience) to put a speedy and happy period to our *unnatural* long-lasting bloody Wars, and settle a firm well-grounded peace, upon such terms of honor, freedom, safety, and advantage, as no Subjects under Heaven ever yet enjoyed from the Creation till this present. What my indefatigable endeavours were herein, in drawing up all the Bills upon the Kings Concessions in the late Treaty, is well known to most of the Members then sitting, and what I delivered in the House upon the Debate of the Kings Answers to our Propositions upon the whole Treaty (with a sincere and publique spirit, aiming at nothing but yours and the whole Kingdoms felicity and prosperity, not any private interest of mine own) I have sent you here in print, being fallily charged by a new erected Generall Councell of Officers of the Army (who have traiterously usurped to themselves the supreme Authority of the Kingdom, and against the known Priviledges of *Parlia.* the Liberty of the Subjects, and the Law of the Land forcibly seized on my self, and divers other eminent Members going to the House to discharge our duties, on the 6th. and 7th. of Decemb. last, in pursu-

D

ance

ance of the *Treaty*, and secluded me and them from sitting there ever since, to yours and the whole kingdoms prejudice) among other secured Members in the gross, for an *Apostate from the publique trust* which you reposed in me, only for this *SPEECH*, and the *VOTE* of the whole House, for the settlement of the kingdoms peace, made in pursuance of it; they having no particular matter else to charge me with (had they any just power to impeach or seclude me, which they have not) but this alone. How *perfidiously* and *injuriously* they have dealt with, and how *scandalously* they have traduced and libelled against me, and the other restrained Members in print, upon this occasion only, you may read in the *Epistle to the Reader*, though mine and the other Members innocency be so perspicuous, that they confesse, they have yet no particular matters of impeachment against us, after above 7 weeks imprisonment, but promise shortly to produce some [if they can:] whereas their owne *Treasonable Rebellions, violences, perjuries*, and crimes written with *Sun-beams* in their very foreheads, are visible to all the world, and need no witnesses to prove their guilt; their late unparallel'd exorbitances and proceedings both against the *King, Parliament, Lords, Members, City and Country* being known and apparent unto all. I shall therefore appeal from these *usurpers*, (who have no more Authority to question or restrain me, for any real or pretended breach of my Trust, as a Member, were I guilty of it, then the meanest servant hath to call his Master to account for misgoverning his family, or to shue him out of doores: unto you alone, who elected me, and are best able to know and judge of your owne Trust; desiring your speedy resolution of this question, *Whether in that herein spoken or voted by me, I have any wayes violated the trust or faith which you and every of you reposed in me?* For which Speech and Vote, though I am judicially accountable only to the *Commons House*, which knowes the true grounds upon which I went, and can only truly judge of what was there spoken and voted (none being *fit to judge any thing but those who know and hear it too) the majority of which House concurred with me in the vote, without any division: yet, I hold my selfe in some sort ministerially accomprable unto you for whom I serve, as the properest Judges, without the House doores, of what I spake or voted in your behalfe. From whom I shall humbly request so much right and justice, upon the perusal of the inclosed Speech and papers, (which I desire may be read openly before all my Electors at your next publique meeting) as to refuse to the world.

* Si judi-
cas, cog-
nosce. Si-
neca,

world under your *hands* and *seais* (which you set to the returne of my *Election*) your own judgments and opinions, whether I have be-
trayed or broken the *Trust* you reposed in me or not, by what I spake or voted
in this debate? and what *sense* you have of the *Armies* forcible seclud-
ing and imprisoning me [your *Burgesse*] from the *House*, among
other *Members*, above seven weeks space together, contrary to mine
and your undoubted *Priviledge*; how far you conceive your selves
obliged by ought that hath been or shall be concluded, or voted
in the *House* during the *Armies* force upon it; and your *Burgesse*s
[and most other *Members*] *violent seclusion* thence, against all *Law*
and *President*, and what reparations you expect for this high *Inju-*
stice to your selves and me: With what else you think fit to deter-
mine touching the premises: And if you deeme it necessary, to re-
turne your results herein to me, with all convenient speed: who
shall make the best advantage thereof for yours, mine own and the
kingdoms benefit: whose *peace* by (Gods blessing) had beene fully
settled to your hearts content before this time, had not the *Enemies* of
Peace (who gain their livings by the *Warres*) interrupted our pro-
ceedings, by imprisoning and secluding the greatest part of the
Members, and particularly

From the Kings Head
in the Strand Jan.

26. 1648.

Your most affectionate Friend
and faithfull Servant and
Burgesse

WILLIAM PRYNNE.

To his honoured Friends the *Vianders* and free
*Burgesse*s of the Borough of *Newport* in
Cornwall, these present.

The first of these is the fact that the
 second of these is the fact that the
 third of these is the fact that the
 fourth of these is the fact that the
 fifth of these is the fact that the
 sixth of these is the fact that the
 seventh of these is the fact that the
 eighth of these is the fact that the
 ninth of these is the fact that the
 tenth of these is the fact that the

To the Honoured Friends the Members and the
 Members of the Society of Newport
 Cornwall, the 1st of June.

511

The substance of a Speech made in the
House of Commons, by *William Prynne* of *Lincolns*
Inne Esquire, on Munday the 4th. of Decemb. 1648.
touching the Kings Answers to the Propositions of
both Houses upon the whole *Treaty*, whether they
were satisfactory or not satisfactory?

Mr. Speaker,

BEing called to be a Member of this House without my privy
or seeking and against my judgment (having formerly refused
many places freely tendered to me) by the unanimous elec-
tion (without one dissenting voice) of that Borough for
which I serve, and by a divine providence entering within these
doors in this great conjuncture of the highest publique affairs that
ever came within these walls, wherein the very life or death, the weal
or ruine of this Kingdom, (if not of Scotland and Ireland too) consist in
our Ay or No, upon the question now debating, I shall with the greater
boldness, crave liberty to discharge my conscience towards God,
and duty to my dying country, which now lies at stake: and so much
the rather because [for ought I know] it may be the last time I shall
have freedom to speak my minde within this House.

That I may, in this great debate more sincerely speak my very heart
and soul without any prejudice, I shall humbly crave leave, briefly
to remove two seeming prejudices, which may (perchance) in some
members opinions inervate the strength of those reasons I shall hum-
bly represent unto you, to make good my conclusion touching the
satisfactoriness of the Kings answers to the Houses Propositions.

The first, is that wherewith some Members have upon another oc-
casion the last week, and now again tacitely aspersed me, *That I am* The first
a Royal Favorite [alluding to the title of one of my books, out of
which some have collected an abstract in nature of a charge against
the King, and this day published it in my name] and am now turned
an Apostate to the Kings party and interest.

To which I shall return this short answer, [I hope without any
vain-glory or boasting, being thus provoked thereunto.] The An-
That I swer there-
unto.
have opposed and written against the King and his Prelates Arbi-
trary power & illegal proceedings more then any man. That I have
suffered from the King and Prelates for this my opposition, more

* Learned
Gibernus
Voetius in
his Letter
to Mr Walter
Strickland,
Agent for the
Parliament at
the Hague
Feb. 2
1644.
writes thus
of my Sovereign
Power of
Parliament
Gre. Accipimus
perime
commodato
ad horas a-
liquot li-
brum Guil.
Prynne
jam diu mi-
hi desideratum,
& rationes cum
responsionibus tam so-
lide Geru-
dite pro
Parliamen-
to contra
adversarios
instruamus
atque ex-
plicatis de-
prehendi,
ut non vi-
deam quid
ultra desi-
derari pos-
sit. Debet
Traditum
ille Latine
& Gallice
extare, ut a
Reformatis

then any man. That if the King and Prelates be ever restored to their
pristine Arbitrary power and illegall prerogative, I must expect to
suffer from them as much, if not more then any man.

That all the Royal favour I ever yet received from his Majesty or
his Partie, was the cutting off both my ears, two several times one
after another, in a most barbarous manner: the setting me upon
three severall pillories at Westminster and in Cheap side, in a disgrace-
full manner, each time for two houres space together: stigmatizing
on both cheeks: the burning of my licenced books before my face
by the hand of the hangman: the imposing of two fines upon me of
5000. a peece; expulsion out of the Innes of Court and University
of Oxford, and degradation in both, the losse of my calling almost
nine yeares space, the seisure of my Bookes and Estate, above eight
years imprisonment in several prisons, at least 4 of these years spent
in close imprisonment and exile in CARNARVAN in Northwales; and
in the Isle of JERSEY, where I was debarred the use of pen, inke,
paper, and all books, almost but the Bible, with the least access of
any friend, without any allowance of diet for my support. And all
this for my good service to the State in opposing Popery and Re-
gall Tyranny; for all which sufferings and losses, I never yet recei-
ved one farthing recompence from the King or any other, though I
have waited above 8 years, at your doors for justice and reparati-
ons, and neglecting my own private calling and affairs employed
most of my time, studies, and expended many hundred pounds out
of my purse, since my enlargement, to maintain your cause against
the King, his Popish and Prelaticall party. For all which cost and
labour, I never yet demanded nor received one farthing from the
Houses, nor the least office or preferment whatsoever, though they
have bestowed divers places of honour upon persons of less, or no
desert. nor did I ever yet receive so much as your publike thanks for
any publike service done you, (which every preacher usually receives
for every Sermon preached before you, & most others have received
for the meanest services) though I have brought you off with ho-
nor in the cases of Cant. and Macg. when you were at a loss in both,
& cleared the justness of your cause when it was at the lowest ebb to
most reformed Churches abroad, (who received such satisfaction from
my books, that they translated them into several languages,) & in-
gaged many thousands for you at home by my writings, who were
formerly dubious & unsatisfied. Now if any Member or old Courtier
whatsoever shal envy my happiness for being such a royal or State sa-
vorite

Theolog. ac Politic. in Europa legi possit.

as this, I wish he may receive no other badges of Royall favour from his Majesty, nor greater reward or honor from the Houses then I have done; and then I beleieve he will no more causlessly asperse or suspect me, for being now a *Royal* favourite, or *Apostate* from the publike cause. True it is (which it behoves me now to touch) that about 4 years since I published a Book, entituled, *The Royal Popish Favorite*; wherein [as likewise in my *Hidden works of Darknesse brought to publique light*; published a year after it] I did, with no little labour and expence, discover to the world, the severall plots and proceedings of the *Jesuites*, *Papists*, and their *forraign and domesticke confederates*, to introduce and set up *Popery* throughout *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and how farre they had inveigled the K. not only to connive at, but to countenance and assist them in a great measure, more fully & evidently then any else had done. And those worthy Members of this House who drew up that *Declaration* whereupon they voted, No more Addresses to the King, plowed but with my heyser, borrowing all or most of their real materials from my writings; A convincing evidence, that I am yet no more a *Royal favourite* then themselves. Yet this I must adde withall, to take off that aspersion, of being an *Apostate* from my first principles, that I never published those Books (as I then professed in them, and now again protest) to scandalize or defame the King, or alienate the peoples affections from him, much lesse to depose or lay him quite aside, though I am clear of opinion, that Kings are accountable for their Actions to their Parliaments and whole kingdoms, and in case of absolute necessity, where Religion, Laws, Liberties, and their kingdoms will else be inevitably destroyed by their Tyrannicall and flagitious practises, be deposed by them, if there be no speciall oaths nor obligations upon their consciences to the contrary, (which is our present case:) much less did I it out of any malice or revenge for the injustice I received from him in the executions done upon my person and estate, which I have long since cordially forgiven, and do now again forgive him from my soul, beseeching God to forgive him likewise: but meerly to discover his former errors in this kinde unto himselfe, that he might seriously repent of them for the present, and more carefully avoid, and detest them for time to come: and that the Parliament and whole kingdom might more clearly discern the great danger our Religion was in before we publikely discerned it, and the severall wayes and stratagems by which *Popery* got such head and growth among us, that they might thereby the better prevent the like plots and dangers for the future by wholesome Laws and edicts, as I have more largely declared in the books themselves.

This.

The second pre-
judice.

The Answer to it.

This grand prejudice against me being thus removed, I proceed to the second, to wit, that I am an enemy to the Army: and therefore what I shall speak, may be interpreted to proceed only from opposition against them, and their *Remonstrance*, concerning which I freely uttered my suddain thoughts immediately after its reading in the House.

To this I answer, that I have alwaies been a real friend, and welwisher to this Army from their first modelling til now, in what ever they have acted in their sphere, as Souldiers for the publique safety. When they were first formed into a body, the Committee of Accompts (whereof I was a Member) & those they engaged, advanced about thirty thousand pounds of the fourscore thousand, to set them out. Since that, I have freely contributed towards their pay, prayed constantly for their good success, joined in all publique thankgivings for the Victories obtained by them; made honorable mention of them and their heroick actions in some of my writings, and particularly dedicated one *Book*, I since compiled, to the General himself, (as I had done former Books to others of your Generals) for to do him all the honour that possibly I could, for his renowned Actions. Besides I have lately signed Warrants to get in their Arrears, and promoted an Ordinance for that purpose, all I could since my entrance into this House. All which considered, with this addition, that some of them have bin my ancient intimate friends, & never did me the least injury, I hope no Member can be so partial, as to report me such a professed enemy to them, as in this grand debate to go against my judgment or conscience in opposition only unto their desires. True it is when the Army have forgot their duty, or offered violence to the privileges, Members, freedom or proceedings of Parl. or endeavoured to engage them to break their publike faith to the King or kingdom, in breaking off the *Treaty*, contrary to their votes and engagement, or to infringe their solemn League and Covenant, or to enforce them to subvert the fundamental Government, Laws, & Liberties of the kingdom, or the very freedom and being of Parl. as they have done in their late Remonstrance, and Declaration, and some other printed papers since, & heretofore, I have then (in discharge of my covenant, conscience, and duty) opposed and spoken against these their exorbitances, as much as any, not out of malice, but out of love, to reclaim them from their evill destructive courses and counsels, according to Gods own precept *Lev. 19. 17. Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart, but shalt in any wise rebuke thy Neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him.* And seeing I have alwayes with like freedom opposed and written against the exorbitances and errour of the King, Court, Prelates, Parliament, Committees

mittees, Presbyterians, Independents, Lawyers, and all other sorts of men in reference to the publick good, the Army and their friends have no cause at all to censure me as their enemy, but rather to esteem me as their friend, for using the like freedom towards them, and their exorbitances, especially in this House.

Having removed these two prejudices, I shall now addressse my self to the question in debate, which hath been thus propounded,

Whether the Kings answers to the Propositions of both Houses taken altogether upon the whole Treaty, be satisfactory or unsatisfactory? The Question.

This being an equivocall question not hitherto clearly stated and debated by those who have spoken to it, most of them being much mistaken in it, I must crave leave to give you the true state of it, before I shall debate it; for which purpose I must distinguish, in what sense it is not satisfactory to any in this House, & yet in what respect it will appear satisfactory to all or most of us, who are not blinded with passion or prejudice against the King, or misled by affection meerly to please the Army, which many have made their principal argument, wherefore it is not satisfactory. The Question truly Stated.

If the question be propounded and intended in this sense, Whether the Kings answers to all the Propositions be satisfactory? that is, whether the King hath granted all the Propositions sent unto him in as large and ample manner as both Houses did propound them? then it is certain, his Answers are not satisfactory, in that which concerns Delinquents, Bishops and Bishops Lands, and the Covenant, though they are voted satisfactory as to all the rest by both Houses. And in this sense only, those who have concluded them not satisfactory, have stated and disputed the Question.

But this, under favour, neither is, nor can be the state or sense of the question, for these reasons.

First, because these Propositions were sent by the Houses to the King, not as *Bills* of Parliament, to be granted *in terminis* without debate or alteration, but only as *Propositions* to be debated & treated upon personally with the King, as the Votes of both Houses, and *instructions to the Commissioners* sent to the Isle of Wight, resolve past all dispute: now it is directly contrary to the nature of all treaties, especially such as are personal, to tie up the parties of either side so precisely, that they shall have no liberty to vary from their first proposals in any particular, or if they condescend not to what ever was at first demanded by the stronger party, that the condescensions should not be satisfactory though they yeeld to all just things, and fall short only in some few of least concernment.

This is evident by all Treaties heretofore between *England, France, Spain,* and other *forraign Nations*, if you peruse their first demands, which were never condescended to, but alwaies receded from, and qualified in some particulars on either side, *Iniquum petas, ni justum feras*, being a rule in Treaties amongst Statesmen. There have been many Treaties during these Wars, between the Officers of the Parliament and Kings party about surrenders of divers Cities and Garrisons, wherein the first Propositions on either side have been moderated or changed, and yet agreed and accepted at last as satisfactory to both sides. In all ordinary Treaties concerning Marriages, purchases, and ordinary bargains in Fairs, Markets or Shops, there are usually greater sums of money demanded at first on the one, and lesse proffered on the other side, then is accepted and given at last, and yet both parts close, agree and are full satisfied: so may we do now with the King upon the whole Treaty, though the King grants not fully all that we at first proposed.

Secondly, because the Houses have already voted, the Kings Concessions of the Great Offices of *England* and *Ireland* to be at their disposal for 20. years, to be satisfactory; though their demand was for perpetuity: which they would not have done, had the satisfactoriness of the Kings answers depended upon the full concession of that Proposition as amply as it is penned.

Thirdly, because the Houses in their last propositions demand farre more then ever they did in most former Treaties, and the King hath granted them more now in this then they have demanded heretofore; And therefore having granted more then what would have fully satisfied them in former Treaties, his Concessions in this may be fully satisfactory to us, so far as to close with him, to settle a firm peace in the Kingdome (now at the brink of ruine) though they fall short in some things which we now propounded, which do not much concern our security, as I shall prove anon. The true state then and sense of this Question must be this, and no other.

The Question truly stated.

Whether the Kings small Answers to the Propositions of both Houses in this Treaty, considered and weighed all together, be not so full and satisfactory in themselves, that this House may and ought to accept of and proceed upon them, for the speedy settlement of a safe and well-grounded Peace, both in Church and Common-wealib, rather then reject them as unsatisfactory, and so hazard the life of all, and the perpetuating of our wars and miseries?

In this sense, I humbly conceive and hope to evidence them so clearly & fully satisfactory, that we can neither in point of duty, prudence, justice

justice & honor, or conscience reject them as unsatisfactory, but ought to imbrace them, as the only safe & ready way to our peace and settlement, though they come not up so fully to some of our Propositions, as I could have heartily desired, for the avoiding of this hazardous debate. *For my clearer progresse in this grand debate I shall observe this method.*

First, I shal clearly manifest, that the King in this Treaty hath granted us whatsoever we can wel desire for the present settlement & future security of the Common-wealth or state, when ratified by Acts & a regal oath, as is intended; yea, far more then ever our Ancestors, or any Subjects in the christian world enjoyed or desired of their Ks. for their security & preservation against their armed power, or legal prerogatives.

Secondly, That the King hath granted as much in this Treaty, as will settle and secure the Peace and Government of our Church and Religion against Popery and prelacy on the one hand, and prophanenesse on the other hand; and more then we or any Protestant Churches ever enjoyed, or demanded heretofore for their security and settlement.

When I have made good these particulars and answered the Objections made against them; I hope every one of us, who have any ingenuity, reason, or conscience in their breasts, and are not transported with passion, or private engagements to the contrary; will, and must of necessity vote these Answers *satisfactory* in the sense foretated.

I shall begin with the first of these; namely, the Kings Answers to all these Propositions which concern the present settlement, and future security of the State and Republike against any armed force, or invasions of the Regall Prerogative; to the enslaving or prejudicing of the Subject; which in my poor judgement are so full and satisfactory, that little or nothing can be added to them; and if we well consider them, we have cause to say; *O fortunati nimium bona se sua norunt!* I shall give you a full view of them all, because many of them have not been so much as once remembered in this debate, and apply them to our present settlement, and future safety, as I mention them.

The first Proposition, *for the settlement of a safe and wel-grounded Peace,* The first is that which concerns the justification of the *Parliaments War*, declaring it by an Act of Parliament to be passed, *to be in their just and lawful defence:* justifying the *Solemn League and Covenant in prosecution thereof:* and repealing all Oaths, Declarations, and Proclamations heretofore had, or hereafter to bee had against both or either Houses of Parliament, their Ordinances or proceedings, or against any for adhering unto, or executing any Office, Place, or Charge under them, and all Judgements, Indictments, Outlawries, Attainders, & Inquisition

The first Proposition fully granted; and the benefits accruing to us thereby.

ons in any of the said causes, and all Grants thereupon made, had, or to be made or had, to be declared *null*, suppressed, forbidden, and never put into execution. And this to be published within all Parish Churches, and all other places needfull within his Majesties Dominions.

To this proemiall and advantageous proposition, the King hath fully and readily condescended at first, in every tittle, as was desired.

By this concession, the Parliament hath gained sundry considerable advantages, tending to their present honour and future security.

First, a full publick acknowledgment of the justnesse of their Warre and Cause, to be ratified and perpetuated to posterity by the highest record that can be, an Act of Parliament, and that to be read in all Parish Churches throughout *England, Ireland*, and other the Kings Dominions; and proclaimed in all Counties, Cities, Corporations, and at Assizes and Sessions of the peace; that so all men may take publick notice of it. Which is such an honour to, and justification of them and their Cause, as was never condescended to by any King that took up arms against his Subjects since the creation to this present: and so low a humiliation and Legall disclaimer in the King of his Warre against the Parliament, and disavowing of his Cause and Party, as could possibly be imagined or expected.

Secondly, It secures the Lives, Liberties and Estates of all the Members of both Houses engaged in these Wars, and of all persons whatsoever that have adhered to, or acted for them, against all former, present, and future Impeachments, Prosecutions and Judgments whatsoever; and makes void and nul, what ever hath been, is, or may be objected against them. Which coupled with the Act of Indempnity and Oblivion, proposed by the King, and agreed to by the Houses, wil extraordinarily secure, pacifie, & content all wel-affected Members, and persons who have adhered to them in this Cause, and preserve them from the danger of 25 E. 3. and other Laws concerning Treasons, which otherwise upon any revolution of times and affairs, might by corrupt Judges and Instruments be extended and rested to their prejudice and undoing.

Thirdly, it laies a foundation for the lawfulnessse of a defensive War by Authority of both Houses, upon the like occasion, in all future ages, without incurring the guilt of Treason or Rebellion; which will be a great encouragement and security to the Subjects, and engagement to them to adhere to the Parliament in after-times.

Fourthly, It wil very much discourage and deter all kind of men from taking up Arms in the Kings, His Heirs and Successors behalfe, against the Houses of Parliament, when they shal cast their eyes upon this Act
and

and behold the King himselfe passing such a censure upon all his own proceedings, and retracting his own Oaths, Proclamations, Commissions, Inditements, Grants, against such Members & all others who have now taken up arms against him, for the Houses & Kingdoms defence.

So as this very first Proposition only, if well weighed, without any others added thereunto, being so fully and freely consented unto by the King, tends very far towards our present settlement and future safety, being more then was ever thought of, or desired in the Treaty of Peace, in *February* and *March*, 1642.

The second Proposition fully granted by the King for the settling and securing of the State and Religion too, against the Kings armed power, is the settling of the whole Militia by Sea and Land, and Navy of *England*, *Ireland*, and the Isles and Dominions thereunto belonging, by Act of Parliament, in the hands and disposall of both Houses, and such as they shall appoint, for the space of twenty years: with power to raise moneys for all forces raised by them for Land or Sea service, during that space or times, which forces are authoris'd to suppress all forces raised or to be raised in, or any forraigne forces which shall invade the Realms of *Engl.* *Ireland*, or the Dominions and Isles thereunto belonging, without Authority and consent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament: And it further provides, that after the expiration of the said 20. years, neither the King, his heirs and successors, nor any person or persons, by colour or pretence of any Commission, power, Deputation or Authority to be derived from the King, his Heirs or Successors, or any of them, shall raise, array, train, imploy or dispose of any of the forces by Sea or Land of the Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*, the Dominion of *Wales*, Isles of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, or of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, nor execute any power or authority touching the same, invested in the two Houses during the space of twenty years, nor do any thing or Act concerning the execution thereof, without the consent of the Lords and Commons first had and obtained. And that after the expiration of the said twenty years, in all cases wherein the Lords and Commons shall declare, the safety of the Kingdome to be concerned, and shall thereupon passe any Bill for the raising, arming, training and disposing of the forces by Sea and Land of the Kingdomes, Dominions, Isles and places aforesaid, or concerning the leavying of moneys for the same, if the King, his Heirs and successors shal not give the Royall assent thereto, within such time as both Houses should think convenient, that then such Bil or Bills after Declaration made by the Lords & Commons in that behalf, shall have the force and strength of an Act.

The Militia fully consented to, and the Kingdoms advantage and security thereby.

or Acts of Parliament, and be as valid to all intents and purposes, as if the Royal assent had been given thereunto.

After which is disables any Sheriffe, Justice of the Peace, Majors or other Officers of Justice, to leavy, conduct, and imploy any forces whatsoever, by colour or pretence of any Commission of Array, or extraordinary command from the King, His Heirs or Successors, without consent of both Houses. And concludes, That if any persons to the number of 30 shall be gathered together in warlike manner, or otherwise, and not forthwith disband themselves, being thereunto required by the Lords and Commons, or command from them, or any other specially authorized by them, that then such person or persons not so disbanding, shall be guilty and incur the pains of High Treason: any Commission under the great Seal, or other Warrant to the contrary notwithstanding, and be incapable of any pardon from His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, and their estates disposed of as the Lords and Commons shall think fit.

To all this new grand principle security of our present and future peace and settlement, the King hath given his full and free consent in *terminis*. And what greater security then this wee can imagine or demand against the Kings armed power and sword of War, transcends my capacity to imagin. Therefore if we have not lost our brains and consciences too, we cannot but vote and conclude it satisfactory, and rest abundantly contented with, yea exceeding thankful for it. And that upon all these ensuing considerations.

First, both Houses in their *Treaty with the King in February, and March, 1642.* demanded only the Militia of England not of Ireland, yet so, as they did leave the Nomination and disposing of the chiefe Commanders, Officers, and Governors of the Militia, Forts and Navy of the Kingdome, to the King: provided only they might be such persons of honour and trust as both Houses might confide in: and likewise promise restitution of all Moneys, Forts, Garrisons, Arms and Ammunition of the Kings which they had seized upon, or to give him present satisfaction for the same; which being granted and performed, they professed, it should bee their hopefull endeavour, that His Majesty and His people might enjoy the blessing of Peace, &c. and be derived to Him, and to His Royall Posterity, and the future Generations in this Kingdome for ever. Whereas in this Treaty the King denudeth himselfe of the Militia of England, and Ireland too, and of the Nomination and approbation of all Officers, Commanders, Governors of the Militia, or forces by Sea or Land; and leaves all the Forts, Navy and Magazines only to the Houses disposal, without

* An Exact
Collection,
p. 88, 89,
97, 909.
&c.
A Collection
on of all
the publick
Ordinances,
&c. p. 49,
50, 51,
57, 58, 77,
&c.

out any compenſation for his Magazines or Armes formerly ſeized by them. And if far leſſe was deemed ſufficient for our ſettlement and ſecurity then, much more will all this be thought ſo now.

Secondly, Becauſe the King hath wholly ſtrip Himſelf, His Heirs and Succeſſors for ever, of all that power and intereſt which His Predeceſſors alwaies enjoyed in the Militia forces, forts, Navy, not only of *England*, but *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Jerſey*, *Garnſey*, and *Berwick* too, ſo as He and they can neither raiſe nor arm one man, nor introduce any forraign forces into any of them, by vertue of any Commiſſion, Deputation, or authority, without conſent of both Houſes of Parliament, and hath veſted the ſole power and diſpoſition of the Militia, Forts and Navy of all theſe, in both Houſes in ſuch ample manner, that they ſhall never part with it to any King of *England*, unleſſe they pleaſe themſelves. So as the King and His Heirs, have no military power or authority at all left, to injure or oppreſſe the meaneſt Subject, much leſſe the whole Kingdome, or Houſes of Parliament, had they wills to doe it; and the Houſes having all the Militia by Land and Sea, not only of *England*, but even of *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Garnſey*, *Jerſey* and *Berwick*, to aſſiſt and ſecure them in caſe He or His Heirs ſhould attempt to raiſe any domeſtick, or introduce any forraign force againſt them, is ſo grand, ſo firm a ſecurity in all probability, for inſuring and preſerving of our Peace, Religion, Lawes, Liberties, Lives, and Eſtates, againſt regall force and tyranny, that none of our Anceſtors ever demanded or enjoyed the like, nor no other Kingdome whatſoever ſince the Creation, for ought that I can find in Hiſtories or Republicks (who have perſeſed moſt now extant to do you ſervice) and ſuch a ſeſe-denying condeſcenſion in the King to His People, in this particular, as no age can preſident.

In the 17 year of King *John*, the *Barons* having by force of Armes, * See Matthew Paris, compelled him to confirm the great Charter at *Runningmead*, near *Windſor*, thought this their greateſt ſecurity, that 25 of the eminenteſt *Barons* ſhould be made Conſervators of the *Magna Char.* and that all the reſt of the *Barons* and people ſhould take an Oath to be aiding and aſſiſting to them in their preſervation thereof; and that the King ſhould ſurrender into their hands his four principall Caſtles, that ſo if he infringed his Charter, they might compell him to obſerve it. This was the higheſt Militia, and ſecurity of that kind our Anceſtors ever demanded or enjoyed; (which is nothing comparable unto that now granted us by the King,) who reſted ſatiſfied therewith.

3. Becauſe the King and his ſucceſſors are hereby not only totally diſabled to raiſe any forces to oppreſſe the people, or diſturb their peace, and

and settlement, but all persons discouraged from aiding or assisting them by any Commission or authority whatsoever, under pain of high Treason, and losse both of life and estate, at the pleasure of both Houses, without any benefit of pardon from the KING, disabled for to grant it. So great a discouragement for any persons of fortune or quality, to appear for the King or his party in the Field for time to come, that in all humane probability, none ever will or dare to appear in arms hereafter for the King, against the Parliament, being sure to forfeit all without any hopes of pardon. And if this Act had been passed as a Law before our Wars, I dare presume not any one English Lord, or Gentleman durst once to have appeared in the Field for the King, and wee had never felt the miseries of a civill War.

Fourthly, Because the *Militia of Ireland, Jersey, Guernsey, and Wales* as well as *England*, is wholly transferred from the King, to the Houses, so as we need fear no danger thence; and the *Militia of Scotland* being in their Parliaments disposall, if wee hold a Brotherly correspondency with them, I know no other enemies we need to fear; for the Navy being in the Houses power, wee need not fear any forraigne invasion that can hurt us, if we can agree at home.

All which considered, I dare assert, we have now the greatest security of any people under Heaven against all armed regall force and power, the King having given up all his Military power into the Houses actuall possession, and resigned his Sword and Armes into their hands. And if we refuse to accept it now he so freely resignes it, we may fight till doomsday, but never win nor hope for the like security or advantage; yea the present age and all posterity will curse and abhor us, for not embracing, and resting satisfied with such unparallel security.

But is this all the security the King hath granted us in this Treaty? No verily: there is yet much more behind, which hath not yet been opened. The Kings of *England*, have alwaies held two swords in their hands, which when ill managed, have hurt & destroyed their Subjects. The first is the sword of *Mars*, in times of War, which is already sheathed, and resigned into the Houses hands by the precedent concessions, so as it can never wound them more. The other is the sword of *Justice* in times of Peace; and this likewise the King hath wholly given up into the Houses power, for twenty years, as he hath the *Militia*, so, that it can never hurt them nor any English man or other Subject hereafter, at least for twenty years.

This sword was formerly intrusted by the King in the Judges and great Officers hands: had they been so couragious, so upright as they should

The King hath granted the Houses for 20 years the disposing of all great Offices, Civil, Judiciall, and Military for twenty years both in England and Ireland. The security and consequences thereof.

should, the King could never have wounded, or ruined the meanest of his Subjects with this Sword. *Shipmony, Knightbood*, with other Grievances & Monopolies, neither would nor could have been imposed on the people by the Kings Prerogative or power, had the Judges, according to Law and duty, declared them illegall. The Kingdome can do no injustice to any, if his Judges be so just and stout as to do justice. Whereupon this House impeached only the Judges, not blamed the King, for the project of *Shipmony*, to which their opinions in Mr. *Hampdens* Case, gave life & vigor. Now the King in this Treaty, hath for twenty yeeres at least, granted to both Houses the nomination and appointment of all the Great Officers, Civill or Military, and of all the Judges and Barons of his Courts and Exchequers within *England* and *Ireland*, to continue in their places only, *quam diu bene se gesserint*. So as these great Officers & Judges having now no dependence at all upon the King, who can neither place nor displace any of them, but wholly upon the Houses of Parliament, and such as they shall appoint to nominate them in the Intervals of Parliament; if the Houses have a care to make good Officers and Judges in all Courts at first; and to displease and punish them (as they may and ought to do) when they degenerate, or misdeemean themselves, the King with all his legall power now left him, can neither injure nor oppress the poorest Subject in body, goods or Estate; nor protect the greatest malefactor from justice. And what more can we desire to expect for the security of our lives, liberties, or estates than this?

Besides, as the King hath intrusted you with the Sword and Courts of Justice and Revenue, so hath he with his Conscience and Courts of Equity too: You have the nomination of the Lord Chancellours, Lord Keepers, and Commissioners of his great Seals of *England* and *Ireland*, of the Chancellours of the Exchequer and Dutchy, and Masters of the Rolls, as well in *Ireland* as *England*, who are the Dispensers of his Equity & Conscience to his Subjects, the Issuers of all his Commissions, Writs, Patents, and keepers of all his publique Records. If this be not enough, you have the disposall of his purse, and Treasure too: The nomination of the Lord Treasurers both of *England* and *Ireland*, of the Chancellours and Barons of the Exchequers in both, and of the Vice-Treasurer and Treasurer of Wars in *Ireland*. Would you have yet more? You have the nomination of the Lord Deputy, and chief Governour of *Ireland*, and of all the Presidents of the severall Provinces of that Kingdome for twenty years; and of all other forenamed great Officers, Judges and Treasurers there; a great strength and reall addition to the *Milisia* of that Kingdome, which can never doe us harm, if we accept

of these concessions, which invest us in such power there, as no Parli. of *England* ever yet expected nor laid claim to. What is there yet remaining for your safety? Perchance you will suspect, the King may have many secret designs and intercourses with forraign enemies and States, and grand Malignants at home, to undo all, which we shall never discover without some further provisions then yet we have made. Truly no: you have a remedy already provided and granted for this; The nomination and appointing of the Lord Warden of the Cinque-ports, the principall gates to let in, or keep out Forraign Enemies or Spies; and of the Secretaries of State, who will be privie to all his Maj. secrets and transactions of publick concernment, receive all letters of intelligence directed to him, and most commonly return all Answers to them. There is now but one thing more wanting to make this security compleat and firm, the Kings *Great Seals of England and Ireland*, the greatest Regall Assurance & confirmation he can give you; apd of these you have both the custody and disposal, having the nomination & appointment both of the L. Chancellors, L. Keepers, and Commissioners of the *Great Seal in England and Ireland*. To summe up all these Grants together; Some Parliaments in former times have had the nomination of the Lord Chancellor, some of the Lord Treasurer, some of the great Iusticiar or some few Judges of *England* only: But never any Parliament of *England* claimed or enjoyed, the nomination and appointment of any the *Great Officers, Barons, Judges, or Treasurers* places in *Ireland*, nor yet of the L. Warden of the Cinque-Ports, Chancellors of the *Exchequer and Dutchy, Secretaries of State, Master of the Rolls, or Barons of the Exchequer of England*; yet all these the King for peace sake hath parted with to us; and shall we be yet so froward and peevish, as not to be satisfied with all those Offices? We have a long time mocked and abused the world, with a *self-denying Ordinance*, disabling any Member to retain or receive any Civill or Military Office, by grant from the Houses, whiles he continces a Member; though there is scarce one day, or week at least doth passe, but we are still bestowing some place or Office upon Members, for which we are weekly censured and reviled in printed Pamphlets, and become odious to the Kingdome. But here is a self-denying Act and Ordinance in good earnest, in the Kings, in parting with so many Offices, (of which He and his Predecessors have had the sole disposall for some Ages without interruption,) to the Houses; & shal we not yet rest satisfied? If not, what will the whole Kingdome, what will all forraign Kingdoms and Nations report of us? but that we are so foolish, so unreasonable, that nothing can or will content

tent us, because we are resolv'd not to be content with any thing that the King shall grant us, be it never so advantageous for our present or future safety, and settlement.

But seeing we have the disposall of all these Officers in *England* and *Ireland*, both *Military* and *Civil*, of his Sword of War and Peace, his Justice, his Conscience, his Purse, his Treasury, his Papers, his publick Records, his Cabinet, his Great Seal, more then ever we at first expected or desired: I must really for my owne part, professe my selfe abundantly satisfied with these Concessions, and so must every one who hath so much judgement, as to understand the latitude & consequences of them for the whole Kingdomes, and dying *Ireland*s safety, settlement, especially at this season, when they are so neer their ruin.

To this I shall adde another grant of great concernment for the Peace and safety of this Nation, which the King hath fully consented to in this Treaty, and I presume no Member of this House will rest unsatisfied therewith, when he fully understands it.

Both Houses of Parliament upon the Lord Keeper *Littltons* deserting of the House, and conveying away the Great Seal, were pleased for the better distribution of Justice, and transaction of the great Affairs of the Realm, to appoint a new Great Seal to be made. The Ordinance for its approbation and use sticking long in the Lords House, who were somewhat doubtfull in point of Law, I thereupon compiled and published a Treatise, intituled *The opening of the Great Seal of England*, which fully satisfied them, and opened the doors to let it out, for publick use, though some who have had the custody of it (as Mr. Speaker knowes) have but ill requited Me for this my pains & good service. Many Grants, Commissions, Presentations, Writs, Proccesse, Proceedings, and other things have passed under this Great Seal, (and some Patens for *Offices* and *Bishops Lands*, to Members of this House, who differ in opinion from me, and yet would be glad to have their Patents confirmed by an Act of Parliament.) The King in this Treaty, hath not only consented to ratifie all the Grants &c. that have passed under this new Seal, by Act of Parliament, and to enact them, to be as effectuell to all intents & purposes as if they had passed under any other Great Seal of *England* heretofore used, but to continue it to be used hereafter for the Great Seal of *England*, and hath likewise so farre disclaimed his old Great Seal from the day it was carried from the Parliament, that he is content, to make and declare all Grants, Commissions, Presentations, Writs, Proccesse, Proceedings and other things whatsoever passed under, or by any Authority of any other Great Seal, since the 22 of *May* 1642. To be

invalid and of no effect, to all intents and purposes, except one grant to Mr. Justice Bacon, to bee Judge of the Kings Bench, and some other Writs, Processe and Commissions mentioned in that proposition: And he hath further yielded, That all Grants of Offices, Lands, Tenements, or hereditaments, made or passed under the great Seale of Ireland, unto any person, persons, or body politick, since the Cessation in Ireland, the 15. Septemb. 1642. shall be null and void, with all Honours and Titles conferred on any person or persons in that Realme since that Cessation.

By this Concession the Houses of Parliament and their adherents have gained these extraordinary advantages, most of them not to be paralleld in any Age or King, from Adam till this present.

First, an acknowledgement of both Houses Authority to make and use a new great Seal of England, without the King; in cases of extraordinary necessity.

Secondly, a power in the Houses to null and void the Kings usuall Great Seal upon the making of their New, and conveying the old Seal from the Houses without their consent.

Thirdly, a ratification of all Judiciall and Ministeriall Acts, Writs, Processe, presentations, Grants, Decrees, Commissions and other things which have passed under the New Seal since its making till this present; which tends much to the quiet and settlement of many mens Estates, to the confirmation and justification of all legall proceedings in all Courts of Justice, and at all Assises and Sessions of Peace, held by vertue of Commissions under this Seal, and of Justices appointed by it (whose authority and proceedings might else hereafter prove disputable, and bee drawn into Question;) and to the tight constitution of the Parliament it selfe, many Members of this House being elected, and some Members and Assistants of the Lords House being called thither, by Writs under this New Seal.

Fourthly, an absolute disavowing and repeal of all Commissions whatsoever, or other things passed under the old Great Seal, against the Parliament or its proceedings, and an exposing of all those of the Kings Party, who have acted any thing by any Commission or Authority under the Seal against the Parliament, to publick Justice, who cannot plead it in Barre or excuse in any Court, after it shall be nulled and repealed by an Act.

Fifthly, a great disparagement, dishonour, and disadvantage to the English Cavaliers, Irish Rebels, and their cause and proceedings, with a future disingaging of them and al their Party from the King and his interest

terest, who hath so far dishonoured, deserted, and disclaimed them, as thus to null and repeal all Honours, Titles, Grants of Offices, Lands, or Tenements bestowed on any of them, for any services done, or Assistance given by them to the King in his Warres against the Parliament: A very high point of humiliation and self-deniall in the King, and such a blow to his Popish and Malignant party, that I dare presume they will never engage in his behalfe, nor trust him for the future: which will much conduce to the settlement of a firm and lasting peace, and prevent new VVars, if accepted of.

6ly. Indempnity and security for all the Commissioners of the new Great Seale, against all scruples which may arise upon the Statute of 25. E. 3. for using and sealing with it, if ever the times alter: which every prudent man will readily embrace, where it is freely offered, and not peevishly reject, in such an age of danger and incertainty as this, in which no man is secure of his life, liberty, or estate on either side.

The next Concession of the King in this Treaty is this: *That by Act of Parliament, all Peeres made since Edward Lord Littleton deserted the Parliament, and convey'd away the Great Seale on the one and twentieth day of May 1642. shall be Un-Peer'd and set by. And all other titles of honour, and precedency (as Lordship, Knighthood, and the like) conferred on any without consent of both Houses of Parliament since the twentieth of May, 1642. shall be revoked and declared null and void to all intents, and never hereafter put in use. And that no Peere who shall be hereafter made by the King, his heirs or successors, shall sit or vote in the Parliament of England without consent of both Houses of Parliament; This Concession of the Kings is of great concernment to the Kingdome, and I conceive, without president, or example in any age or King in the Christian world.*

The Re-
peale of
new Peers
and other
Honours
granted by
the King,
with the
consequence
thereof.

First, it secures us from our formerly feared danger of a designe in the King, by new created Peers, to make an over-ruling party at any time, in the Lords House, where in the Iudicatory of the Parliament principally consists: which danger and inconvenience, by secluding the Bishops out of that House by an Act already passed, and by this disabling all new Peers hereafter to be made, to sit in that House without consent of both Houses, is for ever totally prevented.

Secondly, It gives such an extraordinary new power to the House of Commons, as they never formerly enjoyed or pretended to; to wit, that no Peer created by the King himselfe, or by the King or Lords in Parliament, (who usually created Peers in Parliament without the Commons privy or consent in former times) shall be henceforth inabled.

* See
Cooks' n-
figures on
Mag. Cha.
cap. 29.

abled to sit or vote as Peers of Parliament, but by consent of the House of Commons as well as of the King and Lords. By which provision, the Commons are made not only, in some sense, the Judges of Peers themselves (which they could not try or judge before by the expresse letter of *Magna Charta* chap. 29. and the* Common Law) but (even their very Creators too.

Thirdly, It is an extraordinary prejudice and blemish on the Kings cause, and an extream dishonour, dissatisfaction & disengagement upon his own party, then which a greater cannot be imagined. For what higher affront or disgrace could the King put upon those Nobles, Gent. & others who have spent their estates, lost their blood, limbs and adventured their very lives in this cause against the Parliament, and received no other reward for it but an empty title of honour [perchance a Knightship, Lordship, or the bare title of a Marquess, Earl, or Viscount, which they have enjoyed but a year or two, with little benefit and lesse content,] to be thus by Act of Parliament with the Kings owne Royall assent, (who conferred those titles on them for their gallant services in his behalfe) thus suddenly degraded and divested of them all, as if they had never been? A perpetuall brand to them & their posterity, who must be enforced to give place to such of whom they have had precedency & place by vertue of these dignities. Which high affront and scorne, I am verely perswaded, will pierce and break many of their own, at least their Ladies hearts, and for ever disoblige them in the highest degree.

4thly, It will make all the ancient and new Nobility and Peers of England lesse dependent on the King, & lesse complying to serve his ends upon all occasions, being never able to gratifie or reward them (though never so ambitious) with any new Honours or Peerships, without consent of both Houses of Parliament, whom they dare not displease, or disoblige, for fear of crossing them in their desired dignities and titles, as well as in their great Offices, which are both now in their disposal not in the Kings alone.

In brief, the King in his Concession, hath manifested the greatest humiliation and self-deniall, that any King since there was a Kingdome in the world hath done. It is, and hath been the ancient and undoubted prerogative of all Kings in the world, but especially of the Kings of England, to conferre honours & dignities of all sorts (especially Knight-hood) on whom they shall think meet, and more principally on those who have merited it by their gallantry in the field; as Mr. *Selden* proves at large in his *Titles of honour*, and others who have written of that Subject. Now for the King out of a desire only of a happy peace
and

and settlement, not onely to part with much of the Royall Prerogative which all other Kings in the world enjoy for the future, but to repeal the Honours and Titles conferred by him on his adherents, for reward of their services in times past, during all these wars, is such a miracle and high degree of selfe-deniall, as no age hath produced the like, and that which most of this house, had the King prevailed, would have rather lost their lives (had they conferred any such Titles on their Generalls and Commanders) then have condescended to, should the King require it: And therefore I cannot agree with those over-censorious Gentlemen, who so oft inculcate this, that they can see no humiliation at all or change of heart in the King, when I find so great a change, and deep a humiliation in Him in this, and all other forementioned free Concessions, without any or little hesitation; and I heartily wish their owne hearts were as much humbled as his, and then I doubt not: but they would thankfully embrace, & rest fully satisfied with his concessions for their owne and the Kingdomes benefit. The next proposition tending to the peace and settlement of the Kingdome is this.

That the King do give his Royall assent to such Act or Acts for the raising of moneys for the Parliament, & satisfying of the publike Debts and Damages of the Kingdome, and other publike uses as shal hereafter be agreed on by both Houses of Parliament. And if the King do not give his assent thereto, then it being done by both Houses, the same shall be as valid to all intents and purposes, as if the Royall assent had been given thereunto. To this Proposition the King hath condescended, so as those Acts be passed within two years after the Treaty ended: which the Houses have now voted to be satisfactory.

The proposition for raising moneys for payment of publike debts, arrears, &c. granted; with its benefits

This Proposition secures all moneys lent upon the publike faith: all arrears due to Officers & souldiers, yea all moneys advanced by any who have purchas'd Bishops lands, for their losses by reversions after 99 years or any present rents, to be reserved to the Crowne for the use of the Church, (with which those Members who have purchased such lands or advanced moneys upon them, declare themselves most unsatisfied) & all those who have sustained publike losses. Yea, if the King denies his royall assent thereto, it enables both Houses, to make a valid Act of Parliament without the King in this case, and in case of the Militia likewise, which was never challenged by, nor granted to both Houses in any Kings Reign before; & takes away the Kings Negative voice as to these particulars: which those who conclude the Kings answers unsatisfactory, have so much contended for, yet now stand in their own light, in not accepting of these Concessions as satisfactory, and striking at the Negative voice.

The

The Court
of Wards
and Te-
nures in
Capite &c.
abolished:
with the
advan-
tages.

The next Concession of the Kings for the settlement of the State, is the taking away of the Court of Wards, and of all Wardships and Tenures in Capite, or by Knights service, which draw on Wardships, Primer seisinures, liveries, and such like incommbrances, to the intolerable vassalage and prejudice of the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, and great landed persons, and that only upon giving the King and his successors one hundred thousand pounds yearly for compensations, being one principall part of his Royall Revenue.

This Concession is of so vast consequence to the Kingdome, to enfranchise the Subjects from the Norman yoke of bondage (as some stile Vwardships and Tenures in Capite, though others deem them more ancient then *William the Conqueror*) that our Ancestors never enjoyed the like : It exempts mens heirs under age, and their estates from being made a prey for hungry Courtiers, or over-reaching Committees of them & their estates; It exempts them from being married to any against their free consents, without any single or double forfeiture of the values of their marriages, to which they were formerly liable; from marriages to persons of small, or no, or broken fortunes, and different dispositions, which have ruined many families, from many chargeable suits, expences, & excessive fees & gratuities to Escheators, Feodaries & all sorts of griping Officers in the Court of Wards, and from vast expences and extraordinary vexation in finding, and traversing Offices, suing out Liveries &c. and many suits and questions arising thereupon, which have undone too many : And it deprives the King of such an over-awing Prerogative over the persons and Estates of the Nobility and Gentry, which usually fell into his custody after every Tenants decease, as will very much weaken his interest in, and their over much dependence on him, and make them lesse subject to engage for, or with him against the Parliaments or Kingdomes common interest.

The Pro-
position
concer-
ning De-
linquents
how farre
granted e-
ven to sa-
tisfaction.

The next Proposition relating to the Kingdomes safety and settlement, not so immediately and directly as any of the former, is that which concernes Delinquents : in which alone (as to the State) the Kings answers are pretended unsatisfactory, not in all, but only in some particulars, of no extraordinary concernment in my apprehension, though so much insisted on by many, as to vote all the Treaty unsatisfactory. In opening the state of the Kings Answers to this proposition, I shall doe these 3. things: First I shall shew how far the King and you are both agreed. 2dly, In what particulars you really or seemingly differ. 3dly, I shall examine, whether these differences herein be of any such moment, as to induce the House to vote, the answers to this and the other Pro-
positions

positions upon the whole Treaty unsatisfactory, and so reject and lose whatever the King hath granted in the rest, because he hath not satisfied our demands in this one, and two others concerning the Church.

For the first, both Houses by their Votes, have thought this Proposition touching Delinquents, so needless to be insisted on in every puntillio, for the publick settlement [which will certainly more obstruct then promote it, merey & moderation being the nearest way to peace, and union] that you have reduced, since the Treaty, the persons excepted in the first qualification both from life & composition, from 37 to 7 only: six of those are beyond the Seas, quite out of your power, the 7th, aged, scarce worth your Execution. The King consents that they should be banished during the pleasure of both Houses, which is a civill death, banishment being next to death, the severest punishment, and to some men, more grievous then present Execution. But if that will not satisfy, then he leaves them wholly to your justice, to proceed against them, if you please, according to Law, and promiseth not to interpose, nor pardon any of them if legally condemned; only he adds *ex abundanti*, that he cannot in justice or honor, assent to any Act, to take away their lives by a meer Legislative Power, *ex post facto*, if they have done nothing that was formerly capitall by the known Laws of the Land, by which Hee leaves them to be tried. This Answer many Gentlemen who have spoken, have concluded very unsatisfactory, and made many large descants on it, because they did not rightly weigh nor understand it; when as in truth, it Answers the very Proposition in *terminis*: as I shall clearly manifest to all who understand what Law is.

First, it is apparent that one of the first quarrels and cause of taking up Arms on our parts, was to bring *Delinquents* to condign punishment, according to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, as you have declared to the Kingdom in many printed Declarations, and in your Petitions to the King, you alwayes desired him, * to leave *Delinquents* to the course of Justice; not to cut them off by a meer Legislative Power, when as you could not doe it by any known Law.

* Exact
collection
p. 464. 585
619. 631.
633. 908.

Secondly, you have professed to all the World, and to the King and Delinquents themselves, that you have taken up Armes to defend and preserve the Ancient fundamentall Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and to oppose the introduction of any Arbitrary and Tyrannicall Power; Yea, your selves and the Army likewise, have declared against all extraordinary proceedings and tryals in the Lords House to fine or imprison without any indictment, or legall tryall by Jury or Verdict according to *Magna Charta*, and the Common-Law. Therefore your

bringing Delinquents to punishment for Life and Estates, which in the first branch of this Proposition must be intended only of a just and Legall TRYALL (as your selves have alwayes professed) not by a new Law in the post. And if so, then the King, in case you will not rest satisfied with the seven excepted persons banishment, is content to leave them to your Justice, even for Life and Estate, according to the known Laws of the Realm, and will no wayes interrupt your proceedings therein, nor pardon them. Therefore in this he fully consents to the Proposition.

Objct. But it hath been objected, First, that the King denyes to yeeld them up to Justice, or to have any hand in their prosecution; and therefore his Answer is unsatisfactory. Secondly, That this expression, *That he can neither in Justice nor honour consent to any Act for to take away their Lives or Estates*, is as high a justification of them and his own cause, as possible, and contradictory to the first Proposition, and declares the Kings heart to be still in the same unchanged.

Ans. To which I Answer: First, both these are so grosse mistakes and inconsequences, that I wonder how any intelligent man can insist upon them: For first, the King in positive terms, if you will not accept of their banishment, yeelds them up to a Legall tryall, in which himself must be the Prosecutor, the Indictment being in his name, the prosecution at his suit by his Counsell at Law, and the Witnesses produced on his behalf, as all men know, who understands what belongs to a Legall tryall. Therefore to infer from the Kings Answer, that he disclaims all prosecution of them, is a direct contradiction and falsehood.

Secondly, the Kings very condescension to their banishment and forfeiture of their Estates for adhering to his Cause and putting them upon their legall tryall, is an expresse disavowing of his own cause as just, and an acknowledgment of its badnesse and illegality; and if the Parliament should yeeld up those who have acted for and adhered to them to banishment, confiscation of Estate, and legall tryall for their lives, I am certain the Objectors themselves would protest, that therein they had betrayed their righteous Cause, and deserted their best affected friends. Thirdly, *Expressum facit cessare tacitum*: the King having in direct terms, justified your Cause and War as just, in the first Proposition, acknowledged those persons exempted in this, and treated for under the very name & notion of Delinquents, to be such, in this very Proposition, and consented to their banishment and losse of Estate, cannot without apparant absurdity, be averred to justify them and their Cause in this Answer, which yeelds them up to the strictest legall Justice, as *Delinquents*.

quents. 5ly, Those words of the King [so much excepted against] that he can neither in honour nor justice, consent to any act to take away their lives, who have acted any thing by his command, used and intended by him only in relation to his regall consent to a new Law to condemn them, *ex post facto*, where there was no Law before, are so faire from any exception, that for my part I should have held him neither just nor honourable had he omitted this expression. For can it be just or honourable for a King, to engage men in his service by special Commission or Command, when there is no known Law to make their obedience criminall, and yet afterwards to give his Royal consent to a subsequent Law to take away their lives, & forfeit their estates for obeying his own Royall commands? Suppose we were now in the Kings condition and he in ours, and he should press you to consent to a new Law, to make all those who have acted for you and by your Commission in this war, Traytors, and to lose their lives and estates for it, when there was no former Law to punish them, would you not all give the self same answer as he doth, that you could neither in honor, nor justice (nor yet in point of conscience) consent to such a Law? and would not your selves and all other protest, you had neither justice nor honesty in you, should you be so base and perfidious as to condescend unto it to betray all those you had engaged, and to give them such a requitall for their services? Would any person ever after honor, serve or trust you, should you do it? or could you or any other honor, trust or serve the K. in any dubious imployment after this, if he should thus unworthily *ex post facto* betray his own party now? This answer therefore of his clearly discovers to us, that there is yet so much justice and honor in him, as by no fear or danger to consent to such an unjust and unworthy Act, as by a new Law to cut off the heads of those himself engaged in his service, when there was no Law extant then to do it, makes it more satisfactory unto me, then otherwise, and shews he doth not dissemble but is reall in his answers; and I shall sooner trust and beleve him now, then if he had consented to such an unworthy act. 6ly, This answer is both just and honorable, because if the King should assent to a new Act to forfeit their lives and Estates, he should condemne them rashly and unjustly without hearing their defence or evidence.

And for the King to condemn any for Traytors by a Bil without hearing the cause or evidence against them, or to make men Traytors by a law subsequent to their offences, is neither just nor honorable in every

* 4. Instit. just mans judgment, and of very dangerous president, as * Sir *Edw. Cook*,
 c. 1. p. 37. informs us; the Lord *Cromwell*, the inventer of such Acts of Attainder,
 38. being the first that lost his head by this new invention. All which considered, there is no rationall man but must conclude, the Kings Answer unto this branch touching Delinquents, to be fully satisfactory even to your own demands, as well in words as substance, notwithstanding the Objections against it.

But admit the answer as bad as any have made it, shall we therefore conclude it so unsatisfactory as to break off the Treaty upon it, and involve the Kingdom in another War of which no man can know the end or issue? God forbid we should ever be so unadvised. The persons whose lives you desire for a Sacrifice to publick Justice, are but seven in number, six of them out of your power in forraign parts, where a new war will not reach them: the 7th an aged man, who may chance to dye before judgment or execution pass against him: you have all their whole estates at your disposal already, and their persons too by way of banishment, during both Houses pleasure: And will you adventure another seven years war, and the losse perchance of seventy thousand mens lives, and as many millions of Treasure to the ruine of the Kingdome, for the bare lives of seven Delinquents only, or in truth of one alone, who is fully in your power, which you may take away by a legall tryall without a war? will not all the Kingdome, nay all the three Kingdomes, and whole world cry out upon you for such a frantick unadvised act as this? yea and for such an unjust and wicked resolution, to hazard the lives and shed the blood of many thousand Innocents, and gallant men to take away the head of one or only of 7. vile Delinquents? the sparing of whose lives will * more conduce to settlement, and reall
 Sec 2. unity, then their deaths by the axe of Justice. For shame then let us not
 Chron. 28. vote the Kings answer to this branch of Delinquents so unsatisfactory,
 2. to. 16. as to break off and lose all upon it, since I have proved it fully satisfactory in all things to your own last demands.

As to the Delinquents specified in the 2d. and 3d. Qualification, the King and you are fully agreed. Besides, the King consents to the exclusion of the Delinquents specified in the first qualification from sitting in Parliament, being of his Councells, coming within the verge of his court, bearing any office, or having any employment in the State, during the pleasure of both Houses. Thus far you are both agreed: only
 he

he desires this mitigation of their penalty in case they shall offend herein, that they may not be guilty of high Treason and incapable of any pardon, and forfeit all their estates, nor that those who shall return from banishment without leave may incur so high a penalty, but a more moderate; suitable to the Law they shall offend. And to break only upon this excess and extremity of punishment (too high even in many wise mens opinions for such offences, and of dangerous precedent to posterity, it being the wisdom of our Ancestors, to make as few * new treasons as possible, being only for the Kings advantage and peoples prejudice) when as a lesser penalty may as well, and sooner too, prevent the mischief, is neither safe nor prudent.

* See R.
stalls A-
bridgment,
Tit. Treason.

As for the compositions of such persons, the King only desires their moderation, if you think fit, even to such proportions as the Army itself in their proposals to him in Aug. 1647. thought reasonable; and if you please not to grant it, then he leaves them to compound at such rates as you and they shall agree: and those are only such as you have already fixed on in former compositions, from which you will not vary; and in case they will not compound at your rates, you have then the benefit of all their sequestered estates till their composition be made, which is your benefit and their loss. Therefore in this [though some have pleased without any colour of reason to assert the contrary] you are both fully accorded.

To the Delinquents in the fifth Qualification, the King consents to all your desires, with this exception only: That such Delinquent Ministers who are not scandalous in their lives or Doctrine, & are already sequestered, may enjoy the third part of the profits of their Livings, for the support of them and their families, and be capable of future preferments if they be thought fit to enjoy them. This some have concluded very unsatisfactory, * because it craves some little favour for Malignant Ministers: But I beseech you consider, how inconsiderable the difference is, and how just and charitable the Kings request is in their behalf. Your selves, both by Ordinance and common practise, grant the full fifth of the profits of sequestered Livings to the Wives and Children of sequestered Ministers, as well in case of scandal and insufficiency, as Malignity: the King desires only, that such who have bin sequestered merely for Malignancy, and are not scandalous, may receive a third part in stead of a fifth, and for their future encouragement, having spent their time in sitting themselves for a Ministry, and being fit for no other calling,

and

and having lost their former livings, he requests only, that in this scarcity of able Ministers, they may be capable meerly of future preferments, for which they shall be adjudged meet in such way as you shall appoint, not he or they. A just, a charitable request, and that which your selves have done, there being many able godly Ministers of eminent parts and exemplary life who have not been so clearly convinced in point of conscience, as to concur with you in the late Wars, for which they have been sequestred, and have since been better satisfied: and God forbid that such should be made utterly incapable of the Ministry, and they and their families starve for want of bread. I beseech you therefore, of all other things let us not break with the King upon this Act of Charity, of Piety, lest all the world condemne us for uncharitableness, and judge the King to be more pious and charitable then we. And no doubt it will be the greatest charity to our selves, to our Church, our Religion, our Kingdom at this time, rather to close with the King in this particular, then hazard all for a few third parts, and to be as charitable as his Majesty. The more charity we shew, the greater unity, peace, amity, and better settlement we may expect.

But the greatest dissatisfaction of all (referred to this head of Delinquents) is in the Kings answers concerning his present recalling of *Marquesse Ormonds* Commission, to Treat with, and unite the Irish Rebels.

To which I answer: first, that this was no part of the propositions first sent, but a collaterall emergence discovered since the Treaty upon Col. *Jones* his letter, and so the unsatisfactoriness of the Kings Answer as to this alone, can be no just cause or ground, to vote the other Answers unsatisfactory, or break off the Treaty.

2dly, The Kings granting of this Commission to *Ormond* at the time he did it, is no such hainous thing as many have made it, al circumstances considered. The King when the Army would not close with him upon their own terms the last year who treated with him without your privity, and against your Orders, even then when they unjustly impeached the eleven Members for holding secret intelligence with him and his party (of which themselves were only culpable;) was shut up close Prisoner in *Carisbrooke* Castle in the Isle of *Wight* by their procurement, and by the Votes of both Houses (proceeding originally from the Officers and the Armies projection, promoted by their Declaration, and engagement to joyn with the Houses in sealing the Kingdome with-

out

out & against the K. and forcibly passed the Lords House by the Armies garrisoning *White Hall*, & billeting a Regiment of Horse in the Muse to terrifie them to a concurrence with the Commons) quite laid aside like a dead man out of minde, and no more addressees to be made to him by the Houses, or from him to them, and no access of any to him under pain of high Treason, without both Houses licence: the King in these extremities, the better to procure his own enlargement and the Kingdomes settlement by a Treaty, grants a Commission to Marquess *Ormond* to unite the *Irish* forces then divided for the foresaid ends. Extremities certainly put honest and wisemen too [as the Armies friends grant] upon hard shifts for self-preservation, and this extremity put the King upon this of *Ormond*.

The King is flesh and blood as well as we, and nature teacheth him to use the best means he may for his own preservation, and deliverance in such a strait: The Army the last Summer refused to disband or suffer any of their forces to go for *Ireland*; to preserve and secure that Kingdom, only from this ground of self-preservation, upon which they would now enforce you by their R E M O N S T R A N C E, and marching up to your doors with their forces, to break off the Treaty, or vote it wholly unsatisfactory: whence most Gent. that differ in opinion from me have made this their sole or chief argument that the Kings answers are unsatisfactory, because the Army else will not be satisfied. If then your own Army may thus disobey your votes, and force your consents, only upon a pretence of self-pervations and defence, when they are in no visible danger, the King by as good or better reason in this extremity of danger, might justly make use of *Ormonds* endeavours for his better safety and enlargement. And if some Members have affirmed in the House, (as hath been alleadged in this debate) that they would joyn with Turks or the worst of Nations, and call them in to their assistance rather then the King should come in by conquest: then the King by like reason might joyn with *Ormond* and the *Irish*, rather then be thus laid aside and destroyed. And what we our selves would do in his or the like condition, we cannot justly blame in him. Thirdly, The King did never absolutely deny the recalling of *Ormonds* Commission, but only suspended it til the Treaty ended, and if you then close with him, you have his engagement presently to recall it: if then you agree with him upon this Treaty, your demand in this is granted, and danger prevented, but if you will not agree at all, it is very hard measure.

sure to presse the King to a present disadvantage, who is like to receive no advantage by you, nothing being obligatory on either side til all be concluded. In fine, the King hath so far condescended to satisfie you in his small answer, as to write a letter to *Ormond*, to suspend the Execution of his Commission for the present, and engaged to revoke it so soon as you and he agree in future; and more then this, as the case stands, wee cannot well in justice require, and we should hardly grant so much were it our case as it is the Kings; and seeing all our dangers may be prevented by our agreement with the King, and this demand then fully granted, there is no reason to vote this unsatisfactory, when we may have all we desire if we please our selves. However: I see no such differences between the King and Us, in this of *ORMOND* and that of *Delinquents*, as to vote the small answer to them and all the rest unsatisfactory and so to lose England, distressed Ireland, and all the former Concessions for an unconsiderable dissatisfaction in these two particulars.

That Propositions concerning London fully granted, and the Consequences of it.

The last Proposition relating to the security of the State, is, That the City of *London* shall enjoy all their Rights, Liberties, Franchises, and usages in raising and employing the forces thereof, for its defence; in as full and ample manner as they used and enjoyed it heretofore. That the Militia and City and Liberties thereof, shall be in the Ordering and Government of the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Common-Council, or such as they shall appoint, and be employed and directed as both Houses shall direct; so as no Citizen, or forces of the City shall be compelled to go out of the City or Liberties for Military service without their own free consent. That an Act shall be passed for the granting and confirming of the Cities Charters, Customs, and Franchises, notwithstanding any Non-user, Misuser, or abuser, and for confirmation of all by-Laws and Ordinances made or to be made by the Lord Major, Aldermen, and common-council concerning the calling, convening and regulating their Common-council: That the Tower of *London* may be in the Government of the City, and the chief Governour thereof nominated and removable by the Common-Council: and all Propositions, which shall be further made and approved by both Houses consent, for the future welfare, and Government of the City, confirmed by Act of Parliament. To all which the King hath fully consented; so as his Answer thereto cannot be Voted *unsatisfactory* by any, but such who envy the Cities weal and security, that themselves may the better seize and trample on it, to its enslaving and ruin.

This

This Concession is, First, *A great Honour to, and justification of your cause; the *City having beene more cordiall to, active for, and bounti- * Exact Collection* full towards you upon all occasions and exigencies then all other parts of the *P. 45. a Collection on, &c. p. 33. 495. 496.* Kingdome, the harbourers, and relievers of all who have fled from the Enemies tyranny thither, for safety or reliefe, yea the onely Treasury to advance monies upon all exigencies, and those to whom (under God) you principally owe your victories and preservation. Now for the King to honour the City with such concessions as these, which hath beene most hurtfull to, and deepest engaged against him in this Warre, is almost as high and full (if not a greater) justification of, and countenance to your cause, as this consent to the first Proposition.

2dly, *A great satisfaction to the City for all their services and expences, and a firm security against all future feares and sufferings for ingaging so deeply in your Cause.*

3dly, *An extraordinary Engagement to the City, faithfully to adhere to you and all succeeding Parliaments, upon the like cause and occasion, and to other Corporations to do the like.*

4thly, *A great security and advantage to the whole Kingdome, whose weal and safety principally consists in Londons welfare, its principall Magazine, Mart, Bulwarke, Refuge, and Military security both by Sea and Land, wherewith the whole Kingdome stands or falls: had the King once gained London in these Warres, the Parliament, and all England had been quickly lost, without hope of recovery, which will be in a secure or recoverable condition at all times, if it be safe and true to the publique interest, from which some have studied of late to disengage it, to ruine it, and the Parliament too, which were alwayes free from eminent danger whiles cordially united, and near to both their ruines being now disjointed.*

I have thus as briefly as I could, (with discharge of my conscience and duty) run through all the propositions which concerne the security and settlement of our State against the KINGS armed violence, or Exorbitant civill Sword or Prerogative, and other particulars relating to its peace and safety, with the Kings respective Answers thereunto.

And for mine owne opinion, I humbly conceive them so fully satisfactory

tisfactory, and abundantly sufficient for our Weal and safety, against all future Dangers, and Encroachments on our Liberties: that if we conjoyn them with those other acts, the KING hath already consented to this Parliament, We can neither desire nor expect any additions to make us more compleatly happy and secure then any people or Kingdome under Heaven.

The KING hath already by Acts of Parliament condemned and suppressed Ship-money, his owne Monopoly of making Gunpowder and Saltpetre, Fines for Knight-hood, Impositions upon Merchants goods, Tonnage and Poundage, without grant by Parliament, Coat and Conduet money, Forrest bounds and Laws, the grand grievances under which we groaned, heretofore, so as we need never feare their revivals, nor any others of that nature: Especially since we have the Nomination of all great Officers and Judges, the chiefe promoters of them. Besides, by Act of Parliament, hee hath for ever suppressed the Bishops sitting and voting in Parliament, (a great disadvantage to him, they commonly voting what he pleased, and being wholly at his devotion) together with the three Grand Oppressive Courts and shops of Tyranny, Oppression, and Injustice in the Kingdome, the great Terrors of Mens Spirits, the Invaders of their Rights, Members, Liberties, the chiefe enlargers and maintainers of an unlimited prerogative, and Authors of all our late illegall projects, pressures, the Star-chamber, the HIGH COMMISSION, and COUNCELL TABLE: the Kings chief Engines to scrupe up his Prerogative to the highest, and lay his Subjects lowest; to which a fourth is since added in this Treaty, the Court of Wards. All which being totally abolished, the KING hath now no Court nor instrument left (that I can thinke of) whereby to injure, or oppress his people as in former times. The oppressions likewise and extortions of the Star-chamber Courts, and of Clerkes of the Market, are rectified by acts this Session, yea this Parliament by Act perpetuated, without any power in the KING to adjourne and dissolve it, till all contrivements dissolve it by an Act of Parliament: and when this shall be so determined, for our future security and redresse of all growing mischiefs which may endanger us, there is a provision by another Law for a Trienniall Parl. with power to summon it, in case of the Kings refusal, without him or his writ, and authority for the Houses to sit for a convenient time (sufficient to redresse all grievances, punish all publike Offenders and settle usefull Lawes) without dissolution or adjournment.

To which I may adde, the Act of Oblivion, Pacification, and union with our Brethren of Scotland: Upon granting of four of which Acts alone, the House of Commons in their * Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdome, 15 December 1641, did with much thankfulness, acknowledge, that His Majesty had passed more good Bills at that time, to the advantage of the Subjects, then have been passed in many ages. And if he shall now accumulate all the fore-mentioned Propositions turned into Acts, to those already enacted; with some few Laws more for the regulating of some grievances and corruptions in the Common Law: the punishing and restraining of some publike mischiefs and crimes, and punishment of Extortions, (which will be readily assented to, there being no loss or prejudice to the Crowne in passing them) We may through Gods blessing, in all humane probability, (if our sins deprive us not of so great a felicity) be the freest, happiest, securest, most flourishing and best ordered Kingdom, and People in the World, and enjoy such priviledges, and immunities, as our Ancestors never so much as once imagined, much lesse aspired after. And if we will not now rest satisfied, and thankfully contented with all these large extraordinary Concessions, and besse God for this tender of them to our hands, the present, and all future ages, will Chronicle us, for the most unreasonable and ungratefull Creatures that ever sate within these wals, or the world produced since the Creation.

Having now at large demonstrated (I hope to every rationall and honest mans conviction) the *satisfactoriness* of the Kings Answers to all our Propositions relating to the safety and settlement of our State: I shall in the next place proceed to those Propositions and Concessions which concerne the Peace, Settlement, and Security of our Church and Religion, wherein there appears the greatest difficulty; the most whereof I shall dispatch with greater brevity then the former.

There are three things especially which may endanger and disturb the Peace and settlement of our Church and Religion, 1. Popery, Popish corruptions and innovations, introduced by Jesuites, Papists, and superstitious Clergy-men Popishly addicted; 2. Prophaneness; 3. Prelacy: and one chiefe thing to promote Religion and the Churches happiness; the propagation of the Gospel, by settling preaching Ministers throughout the Kingdom, and establishing the publick Worship and Church-Government in such sort, as is most agreeable to Gods word. For all these there is sufficient ground in the Kings

The satisfactoriness of the Kings answers to the Propositions concerning the Church & Religion.

answers to our Propositions concerning them, to vote them satisfactory, as I humbly apprehend, and hope to manifest.

Propositions and Concessions against Popery and Popish Innovations.

For the first of these dangers to our Church and Religion, there is as good security and provision granted us by the King, as we did or could desire, even in our own terms. First, he hath fully consented to pass an Act for the more effectually disabling of Jesuites, Papists, and Popish Recusants, from disturbing the State, and deluding the Lawes; and for the prescribing of a New Oath for the more speedy discovery and conviction of Recusants. Secondly, to an Act of Parliament, for the Education of the children of Papists by Protestants, in the Protestant Religion. Thirdly, to an Act for the due levying of the penalties against Recusants, and disposing of them as both Houses shall appoint. Fourthly, to an Act, whereby the practices of the Papists against the State may be prevented, the Lawes against them duly executed, and a stricter course taken to prevent the saying or hearing of Masse in the Court, or any other part of the Kingdome; whereby it is made Treason for any Priests to say Masse in the Court or Queenes owne Chappell; and so no place left for the saying of Masse throughout the Kingdome, no not in the Queenes owne Chamber. Fifthly, to an Act for abolishing all Innovations, Popish Superstitions, Ceremonies, Altars, Rayles, Crucifixes, Images, Pictures, Copes, Crosses, Surplices, Vestments, bowings at the name of Jesus, or towards the Altar, &c. out of the Church, and to prevent the introduction of them for the future. By all which Acts added to our former Lawes against Recusants, I dare affirme, we have now far better provision, and security against Papists, Jesuits, Popish Recusants, their Popish pictures, Innovations, Superstitions, and Ceremonies, both for our Churches and Religions safety, and States too, then any Protestant Church, State, or Kingdome whatsoever; So as wee need not feare any future danger from Papists or Popery, if we be carefull to see those Concessions duly put into execution, when turned into Acts, and our former Laws.

Propositions and Concessions against Prophaneness.

Secondly, against the growth and danger of Prophaneness, His Majesty hath condescended to an Act of Parliament, as large as can be drawne, against all Prophanations whatsoever of the Lords day, with severe punishment for the prophaners of it in any kinde; and against all such who shall write or preach against its morality, and due observation. And likewise to an Act to be framed and agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament, for the reforming and regulating both Universities, and of the Colledges of Westminster, Winchester, and Eaton, the seminaries of Learning and Education of youth, to serve and rule in.

in our Church and State. By which two Grants, if duly executed, all impiety and prophaneneſſe which can endanger our Church and Religion, will eaſily be ſuppreſſed for the preſent, and prevented for the future.

Thirdly, Againſt the danger and revivall of *Episcopacy*, and the appendances thereunto belonging, the King hath clearly condeſcended to theſe particulars *in terminis*. Firſt, to an Act for the abolition of all Archbiſhops, Chancellors, Commiſſaries, Deanes and Sub-Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-deacons, Canons, Prebendaries, &c. and all other *Episcopall*, Cathedral or Collegiate Officers both in England, Wales and Ireland: and to the diſpoſall of all their Lands and Poſſeſſions for ſuch uſes as the Houſes ſhall thinke meet: So as there is no feare at all of their reſurreſtion to diſturb our Church. All the queſtion and difference now between the King and Houſes, is onely concerning the Office and power of Biſhops, and their Lands and Poſſeſſions; in which two I finde moſt Members declare themſelves to be unſatisfied, eſpecially, thoſe who have purchaſed Biſhops Lands, who are very zealous in that point for their own Interests.

For the clearing of theſe two ſcruples, I ſhall examine and debate theſe two particulars.

Firſt, how far the K. hath conſented to the Houſes Propoſitions for the abolishing of the office & juriſdiction of Biſhops in the Church?

Secondly, how far He hath condeſcended, to the ſale and diſpoſal of their Lands and Poſſeſſions? And whether his Conceſſions in both theſe be not ſufficiently ſatisfactory, in the ſenſe I have ſtated the queſtion in the beginning of my debate of it?

For the firſt of theſe; It is clear, that the King in his two laſt Papers hath *abolished* and *extirpated* that *Episcopacy* and *Prelacy* which we intended, and have ſo earneſtly conteſted againſt; and contends now for no other but an *Apoſtolical Biſhop*, which is but the ſame in all things with an ordinary Miniſter or *Presbyter*; which Biſhop being *Apoſtolical*, and of divine Inſtitution, we neither may, nor can, nor ever intended to abolish by our Covenant. To make this evident to all mens conſciences: 1 The King hath yeilded to take away all the power and juriſdiction whatſoever exerciſed by our Biſhops in point of cenſure or diſcipline, in his former answer: and contends for nothing now but their power of Ordination only: and that not ſolely veſted in the Biſhop, but in him and other *Presbyters* jointly: yet ſo as the Biſhop ſhould have a negative Voice in Ordinations. But the Houſes voting this unſatisfactory, becauſe that the

Bishops for three years, during the continuance of the Presbyterian government, should have the chief power of Ordination; & after those three years the sole power, there being no others vested or intrusted with that power after the three years expired; so as Bishops might by this means creep in, and get up againe by degrees as high as ever. Thereupon the King in his finall Answer hereunto, though not fully satisfied in point of conscience, but that the power of Ordination is principally vested onely in Bishops by Divine Authority, hath yet for our satisfaction, thus far condescended to us: First, that for three years next ensuing, during the Presbyteriall Government, no Bishops shall at all exercise this power of Ordination in the Church. Secondly, That if he can be satisfied in point of Conscience within that time, upon conference with Divines, That this power of Ordination, so far as to have a Negative voice in it, belongs not only unto Apostolical Bishops by a divine Right; then he wil fully consent to the utter abolition even of this power of Ordination in the Bishops. Thirdly, That after the three yeares are expired, if the King can neither satisfie his Houses in point of conscience, nor they him upon debate, That this power of Ordination belongs *Jure Divino* to Bishops; that yet the exercise of that power shall be totally suspended in them till He and both Houses shall agree upon a Government, and by Act of Parliament settle a Form of Ordination. So as if both Houses never consent that Bishops shall hereafter have a hand or negative voice in Ordination, this power of Bishops is perpetually suspended, and as to the exercise of it, perpetually abolished even by this Concession, so as it can never be revived again without both Houses concurring assents. And by this means, *Episcopacy* is totally extirpated root and branch, according to the Covenant, which hath been so much pressed in this debate, though the words of it have been somewhat mistaken, that we therein absolutely covenant to extirpate *Episcopacy*; when as the words are only, That we shall endeavour the extirpation of *Prelacy*, that is, of *Archbishops* and *Bishops*, &c. And that certainly we have done, and in a great measure accomplished, so far as to satisfie both the words and intention of the Covenant, though a concurrent power of Ordination be left in Bishops, which yet is now totally suspended: For as we covenant in the same clause to endeavour to root out *Popery*, *Superstition*, *Heresie*, *Schisme*, *Prophanes*, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound Doctrine, and the power of Godlinesse; in the extirpation of which, I am certain we have not proceeded by an hundred degrees so farre as we have actually done in the extirpation of *Episcopacy*, there being no Proposition at all in the Treaty for the extirpation of *Heresie*, *Schisme*,

Schisme and Errors, as there is of Episcopacy; and yet the Gentlemen who are so zealous for the Covenant, perswade themselves, they and we have not violated it in these particulars: therefore much less in the point of Prelacy and Bishops, since we have left them nothing at all but a meer power of Ordination, actually suspended from any future execution, but by both Houses assents: Fourthly, the King by abolishing Archbishops, and Deans and Chapters, hath also therein actually abolished all Bishops too for the future, except those who are already made. For by the Laws and custome of the Realm * No Bishop can be consecrated but by an Archbishop, or some deputation from him, in case of sicknesse; nor any Bishop made or consecrated, unless he be first elected by the Dean and Chapter, upon a Conge d'essier issued out to them to choose one. Now there being no Deanes and Chapters left to elect, nor Archbishop to consecrate any Bishop for the future, there can be no Bishop at all hereafter made in England or Ireland: and so the Bishop being thereby abolished and extirpated, his power of Ordination must be destroyed with his Function, as well as suspended. All which considered, I cannot but conclude, the Kings finall Answer as to the Office of, and Ordination by Bishops, to be completely satisfactory to our demands.

* See the Book of Ordination of Ministers, & Bishops, &c. 1. & 2. Ph. & Mar. c. 8.

And so much the rather, because the King in this particular of Ordination, pleads only dissatisfaction in point of Conscience for closing with us in this seeming puntillio; and if it were not meerly Conscience (though some have over rashly censured it for a meer pretence to keep up Bishops still) he that hath granted and yielded us the greater, would never contest with us for the lesser, nor go so far in the abolition of Episcopacy as he hath done. And truly, I doubt not, but His Majesty by conference may soon be satisfied in this point: Nay, had his own Divines dealt faithfully with him, in the Isle of Wight, He might have been easily satisfied in this particular: in which I doubt not by Gods blessing to undertake to satisfy him both in point of Episcopacy, that it is in all things the same with Presbytery; and that the ordination of Presbyters and Ministers by divine Right, belongs only to Presbyters as such, and not to Bishops as Bishops; who for above a thousand years after Christ claimed the chief, but not the sole interest in it, not by divine Right and Authority, but meerly by Canons and Custom long after the Apostles time; which I have proved at large long since, in my *Unbishopsing of Timothy and Titus*, which none of the Bishops or their Patrons ever

yet

yet attempted to answer, though I particularly challenged them to do it.

Only this, I shall now say in brief, for some satisfaction in the point to other Members.

1 That there is no one Text of Scripture to prove, that Bishops *Jure divino* are distinct from Presbyters in any thing, much less in this particular of having a negative Voice, or sole, or principall interest, as Bishops (so distinguished) in the power of Ordination: but a direct Text to the contrary, *1 Tim. 4. 14.* to omit others.

2 That the pretence of appropriating Ordination to Bishops distinct from Presbyters by divine Right, is grounded upon these two gross mistakes, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Bishops properly so called; the one of *Ephesus*, the other of *Crete*; and that this power of ordaining Elders, was vested in them *quatenus* Bishops only, and not otherwise by divine institution; for proof of the first, the Postscripts of *Pauls* Epistles to them (and no one Text of Scripture) are cited; and the *1 Tim. 5. 22. Tit. 1. 5.* relating only to Ordination, for the latter. But it is clear as the noon-day Sun, by Scripture, that *Timothy* was never a Bishop properly so called, much less the first or sole Bishop of *Ephesus*, as is evident by sundry texts, especially by *Act. 20. 4, 5, 6, 15, 17, 18, 21, 29, 30, 31.* compared together; nor *Titus* a Bishop properly so termed, distinct from a Presbyter; much less the first or sole Bishop of *Crete*: nor do either of those texts prove, that they had the power of Ordination by divine Right vested in them two, merely as Bishops distinct from, or superiour to Presbyters, as I have undenyably manifested in my *Unbishopsing of Timothy and Titus*. And as for the Postscripts to these Epistles, terming *Timothy* ordained first

* This I Bishop of *Ephesus*, and *Titus* of *Crete*, they are no part of the text, first have fully extant in, and invented by * *Oecumenius* (none of the authentickst Authors) above 1050 years after Christ, and annexed only to the end of his my *Unbishopsing of Commentary on those Epistles*, not adjoynd to the Text; and they are not Timothy & Titus. And of these Epistles, but apparently false in themselves, as I have at large de- the Anti- pathy of may soone be satisfied.

3 That no Bishops for 1200 years after Christ, did ever claim the Prelacy to chief power in Ordination by any Divine Right as Bishops, but Unity and Monarchy, merely by Canons or Custom long after the Apostles; and that in the Primitive times, before any restriction by Councils, Presbyters in

in many places did not only ** ordain Ministers and Deacons without Bishops, and Bishops never but jointly with Presbyters; but likewise ordaine Bishops themselves, as Jerome, Epiphanius, Augustine and others assure us; and sometimes joined in the consecration and enstallment of Popes themselves and Archbishops, for defect of Bishops.*

4. That it is the ** constant tenent of all the eminentest Protestant Divines (and some learned Papists too) and the practice of all the reformed Churches, that the Divine right of Ordination belongs originally to the whole Church; but ministerially to Presbyters as such, not to Bishops as Bishops: and that which undeniably clears it up to mee, is this. That in the New Testament wee find both Apostles, some of the 70 Disciples, Evangelists and Presbyters equally ordaining Elders or Presbyters: but not any one who is once in Scripture stiled a Bishop, either conferring orders upon any, much lesse *enomine & jure*, as a Bishop. And since the Apostles time wee find in point of use and practice, Popes, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Metropolitans, Cardinalls, Abbots, in some places (who are not *jure Divino*, nor Bishops properly so called, but distinguished from them in degree) ordaining Presbyters and Ministers as well as Bishops *quatenus* Bishops; and that never by themselves, but all by the Presbyters joint concurrence then present, who by the fourth Councell of Carthage, the Canon law, the very Canons of Trent also, and our owne book of Ordination and our Canons ought also to join with them in the Ordination: Now all these distinct Orders and Degrees, claiming and exercising this power by a Divine Right, and many of their Functions being confessed not to be of Divine Right, (as Popes, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Metropolitans, Abbots and Chorall Bishops) who yet ordain, and these alwaies necessarily calling Presbyters (who are clearly of Divine Right) to join with them in their Ordination, and not doing it alone, is an unanswerable proof to me, that they all concur in this action in no other right or notion at all, but meerly as they are Presbyters, in which they all acoord, and have one and the same authority; not in their own capacities, wherein they are all discriminated, and are not all of Divine, but only of humane institution; Presbyters, *qua* Presbyters, being the properest persons to ordain others of their owne degree and function; as Doctors of Divinity, Law and Physick in the Universities, create Doctors of their severall Professions; and Bishops consecrate Bishops and Archbishops; even as a man begets a man of his own quality and degree; and all other creatures generate those of their own kind,*

See my Unbishopsing of Tū. and Titus, where this is largely proved.

* See this largely proved in my Unbishopsing of Timothy & Titus, and in Gersoms Bucerus de Gubernat. Ecclesie.

without the concurrence of any her distinct Species paramount them.

As for the *Angel of the Church of Ephesus* (much insisted on in the Isle of *Wight*, to prove an Episcopacy *Jure Divino* distinct from Presbytery) I never read that this *Angell* ordained any Presbyters; eit^r *er* *quatenus* *Angel* or *Bishop*: nor find I the name of a *Bishop* in any of St. *John's* Writings, but the title of a Presbyter or Elder very frequent, by which himself is stiled. And I wonder much the King or his Bishops should now so much insist upon this *Angel*, and assert him to bee a Lord Bishop, not an ordinary Minister.

* See my
Antipathy
of the Eng-
lish prela-
cy, part. 2.
pag. 479.
to 484.

For first, * King *James* himself, and all the *Bishops* of Engl. with those learned men employed by them in the last Translation of the Bible, in the very contents prefixed to this Chap. Rev. 2. resolve the *Angells* of those Churches to be Ministers, in these very words: *What is commanded to be written to the Angels, THAT IS THE MINISTERS* (not Bishops) of the Churches of *Ephesus*, *Smyrna*, &c. If then the *Angels*, by their joint confessions, when these Contents were first composed and prefixed, were only the *Ministers* (not *Bishops*) of these Churches, and have ever since been constantly admitted; confessed, and this published to be so even in our authorized Bibles used in all Churches, Chappels, Families, and printed *cum privilegio* five or six times a ycer, without any alteration or disallowance of this Exposition: I marvel much how the Bishops now dare inform the King, That these *Angels* certainly were only *Bishops* but not *Ministers*, diametrically contrary to these authorized Contents of their own or Predecessors affixing, with learned King *James* his approbation; or how his Majesty when Hee knowes it can beleeve them, though they should averr it, against His own Fathers, and the whole Church of *Englands* resolution, which hath so long received and approved this Translation (excluding all others in publick) and these Contents thereto prefixed.

Secondly, Admit this *Angell* of *Ephesus* to be a Diocesan Bishop, distinct from an ordinary Presbyter; yet he was but an Apostate, who had lost his first love, ver. 4. And if *Timothy* (as they affirm) was sole Bishop of *Ephesus*, he must be the Apostate (being at that time living) unless he resigned his office to some other, which is improbable. And for our Bishops to father that divine Right of their Prelacy upon an Apostate *Angell*, is no good Divinity, and lesse Policy at this instant. And this their rotten foundation upon an Apostate, may probably be the ground, why so many Prelates in this and former ages have turned Apostates after they were created Bishops.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, if those *Angells* in the Revelation were really Lord *Bishops*, then certainly the *Elders* therein mentioned can bee no other then *Presbyters*, not *Bishops*, as the Prelates themselves will grant: And if so, then verily the *Presbyter* is the supream of the two, both in point of Dignity, Ministry, and precedency; which is very observable. For first, I find the 24 *Elders* there mentioned, *sitting upon twenty four seats round about Christs Throne* (and nearest to it) *Rev. 4. 4. c. 11. 16.* but the *Angells* standing (not sitting) round about it and them, without any seats at all provided for them (as inferiour attendants,) *Rev. 5. 11. c. 7. 11.* Secondly, I find these *Elders* not onely sitting on seats next Christs throne; but likewise clothed with white rayment and having on their heads Crownes of Gold the embleme of supream Authority, power and honor) *Rev. 4. 4. 10.* whereas the *Angells* had neither white rayment nor Crowns; so it seems *Bishops* had no lawn sleeves, nor Rochets, nor Miters then, though they have since usurped and robd the *Presbyters* of them.

Thirdly, These *Elders*, not the *Angells*, are there alwayes introduced
 * worshipping and falling downe before Christs Throne; holding harps and golden viols in their hands full of odors, representing the prayers of the Saints, and singing the new song to him; as the principal Officers and Ministers of Christ) when as the *Angells* standing by, act or speak little in these kinds, like our late dumb unpreaching and rare-praying Prelates. *Rev. 4. 10, 11. c. 5. 8, 9. c. 11. 16, 17, 18.*

Fourthly, the 24 *Elders* (not the *Angells*) sing this new Song of praise to Christ, *Rev. 5. 9. 10.* *Worthy art thou to take the booke, &c.* And hast made us Kings and Priests (not *Angells* or *Bishops*) to God the Father; and we (not the *Angells*) that REIGN on the Earth, therefore in all these respects, if the *Angells* in the Apocalypse bee *Bishops*, as our Prelates dreame; the *Elders* must of necessity *jure divino*, bee their Superiors and Lords paramount in point of dignity, honour, Sovereignty, Ministry, and they inferiour in jurisdiction and power unto *Presbyters*, not superior, as they would really make themselves. When his Majesty shall be informed of these, and many other particulars of this kinde, I doubt not but his conscience will be so much satisfied, as wholly to forgoe and lay aside his pretended Apostolicall *Bishops*, both in point of function and ordination too, as being the same with *Presbyters*. And since in his last paper but one, he hath professed to retain no other *Bishops*, but such as are Apostolicall;

* Ads 20.
17. 28.
Phil. 1. 1.
Tit. 1. 5.
6, 7.

he must presently quit all those about him, and their possessions too, since neither of them are Apostolicall, the Apostolicall Bishops being *many alwaies ever one Church and Congregation*, not one over many Churches, or an whole Diocesse, as ours are : and having no Palaces, Mannors, Lands and Possessions : as I shall prove in the next particular, which comes to be now debated, having fully cleared this to be satisfactory.

For the second quettion concerning the sale of Bishops lands, how far the King hath condescended to it? And whether the Kings answers to the first branch of that Proposition bee satisfactory in the premised sense?

I confesse I find this the grand and most swaying Argument of all others used by those who differ from me in the Treaty, as not satisfactory, because the King absolutely refuseth to agree to the sale of Bishops Lands, for the satisfaction of those publike debts, for which they are engaged by both Houses, whereby purchasers and lenders upon that assurance, will be not only defrauded but cheated of their debts and purchases, many of them quite undone and ruined, and the honor and publick faith of both Houses for ever forfeited and laid in the dust. And indeed this is a very sensible argument, especially to such Members who have either purchased Bishops lands, or advanced moneys upon their security, very fit to bee fully answered; which I shall endeavour to doe, I hope to their full satisfaction and content.

I confesse it to be most just and equall, that all who have purchased Bishops Lands, or advanced moneys to the State upon them, should receive full satisfaction, and be no losers by it, but rather gainers: And I could have as heartily desired as any Member in this House, that the King in this particular of Bishops lands had given us plenary satisfaction; the rather because I was employed by the Houses as one of the Contractors (though without my seeking, and to my prejudice, by neglecting my calling, and receiving as yet not one farthing salary for it, though I have spent and lost some hundred of pounds in and by that imployment) and had heretofore done it; I presume few Members of this House now of a different opinion, would have voted the Kings Answers to the whole Treaty unsatisfactory. But to take them as they are,

First,

First, the King hath so far condescended to their sale and disposall, made or to be made; as that the purchasers shall by Act of Parliament enjoy a lease of them, not from the Bishops themselves but from the Crown for 99. yeares space, reserving only the reversion afterward to the Crowne, and that for the use of the Church in generall terms.

Secondly, The King will bee content with the reservation only of the old, or some other moderate rent to Him and His Heire, to bee employed only for the Churchs use and benefit.

Thirdly, That for the absolute sale or alienation of them, he cannot in point of conscience consent unto it, being Sacriledge, and an unlawfull Act in the opinion of all Divines, as well in forraigne Reformed Churches as Domestick.

This (I remember and conceive) is the sum of his finall answer to this Proposition.

To examine these particulars a little in the generall, and then by parts.

First, I must make bold to inform you in the generall; That the King and His Predecessors, Kings of this Realm, were the * *Originall* founders of all our Bishopricks, and patrons of them. That all their Lands, * See *See* Rent and Revenues whatsoever, originally proceeded from the Crown and *Catholicon* Kings of England, of whom they are holden; and that in times of vacancy, the *Catalogue* King enjoys the profits of their temporalities, as a part of His Royall Revenue, *of English* and receives both tenths and first-fruits out of them upon every death or *Bishops* translation of the Bishops. And therefore there is very great reason and *Rastalls* Justice too, they should be still held of the Crowne, and not totally *abridge-* translated out of it, and that the King and His successors should receive some reasonable Revenue or compensation out of them, parting *ment, Tit.* with such an interest in recompence for them. *Bishops* *first fruits* *& tenths,*

Secondly, That in the severall Treaties with the King, *February. 1.* 1641, and *July 11. 1646.* All the Lands, Possessions, Rents and Reversions both of Archbishops and Bishops, and likewise of Deans and Chapters, * *A Coll.* and other Officers of Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, were by Act of *&c. p. 124.* Parliament to be settled in the very reall and actuall possession of the King, His *125. 902.* Heirs and Successors for ever, to their own proper use, except only their Impropriations, Advowsons, Tythes, and Pensions which are not now to be sold. And, that the * *Ordinances* for settling of Bishops Lands, Rents and Possessions.

* A Collection, &c. p. 522, 23, &c.

*sessions in Fees, and engaging and selling them for the monies lent upon the Publick faith and doubled, to raise 200000. l. for disbanding of the Scotch Army, passed on the Houses till October and November, 1646: till which time there was no thought nor intent at all, to sell or alienate them from the Crowne. If then the King in two or three former Treaties, by both Houses full and free consent, and a * Bill*

* A Collection p. 124, 125.

passed by them for that purpose; was to enjoy to himselfe, his Heirs and Successors all the demesne Lands, Mannors, Possessions, Reversions, Rents, Inheritances and Revenues of Archbishops and Bishops, and likewise of Deans and Chapters, Prebends, and the like, it seems to me very just & reasonable, that he should demand and enjoy the Reversions of them after ninety nine years, and such a moderate Rent as he and both Houses shall agree on. And that this Answer of the Kings, wherein he demands so little now, only for the Churches use and benefit, not his own should be fully satisfactory, because we were very well content in former Treaties, He and his Heirs should enjoy the whole, only to their own use.

Thirdly, That near one moiety of the Archbishops and Bishops possessions and revenues, consists in *Impropriations, Tythes, Pensions, and the like*, which the King is content wholly to part with for the encrease of Ministers means, and the *benefit of the Church*, without any Reservation or Recompence: And with all Deans and Chapters Lands and Revenues to boot. Therefore it should be unsatisfactory, or unreasonable in no mans judgement, for the King to reserve some interest in the Reversions and Rents only of their demesne lands.

Fourthly, The King demands the *Reversions of the Lands after ninety nine years*, and some present *moderate Rent*, not for the use and support of the Bishops, and to keep a root for them to grow up again in our Church, (as hath been mistaken by some,) Archbishops and Bishops too, being extirpated root and branch by the Kings former Answers (as I have manifested;) but only for the use of the Church, in such manner as the King and we shall agree to settle them who shall take care that no Bishop shall be a sharer in them, all being to bee settled in the CROWNE alone, and nothing in Reversion or Possession to, in or upon the Bishops.

Fifthly, The King consents, that *the Purchasers of Bishops Lands shall*

shall by Act of Parliament have a Lease of them for ninety nine years, reserving the Reversion only after that terme : which I conceive is no ill, but a very good bargain for the Purchasers ; such a Lease by Act of Parliament, being far better then the whole Inheritance by a bare Ordinance of both Houses, which for ought I know, if not confirmed by a sublequent Act of Parliament, will prove little better then a Tenancy at Will, or a Lease so long only as this Parliament continues ; Ordinances of both Houses only without the Kings Royall assent thereto being a new device of this present Parliament, to supply some present necessities for our necessary defence and preservation, during the Kings absence and hostility, never known nor used in any former Parliaments, what ever hath been conceived to the contrary. Therefore this offer of the K. is no prejudice at all, but a great advantage to the Purchasers, wherewith they should rest fully satisfied. But admit it be any losse at all to them, and not rather a gain (as things now stand in our tottering condition,) yet it is only of the reversion of these lands after ninety nine years, worth not above one quarter or halfe a years purchase at the utmost ; which considering the low values at which Bishops lands are sold, and the cheap rate now that most purchasers gave for Bills of Publick faith, with which they bought them, they may be well content to lose, to secure their purchases for ninety nine years, in these tumultuous and fluctuating times ; when some wise men who have made such purchases, would very gladly give two or three years purchase, if not more, at the assurance Office, to any who will ensure their estates in Bishops lands for so long a term, and think they had a good bargain too, at leastwise far better then the Bishops in case they should revive again, as some fear, who must be kept starving for 99 years, in expectation of a dry Reversion. All which considered, the Kings Answers touching such Reversions, I humbly conceive will be very satisfactory to the purchasers of Bishops lands themselves, who are most displeased with it.

As to that which hath been objected, that some have purchased Reversions of Bishops Lands after 99 years in being, who must absolutely lose their purchase money after this rate, which is neither just nor honourable for the Parliament: *Object.*

I answer, that this is but the case of three or foure only : *Answer.* that their purchases are of no considerable value : nor bought singly by themselves, but jointly with Lands or Rents in.

in possession of good value ; in which they had the cheaper purchase to take off the Reversion after so long a term, which losse in the Reversion they may contentedly undergoe to purchase their owne and the Kingdomes peace, and enjoy what they have purchased with these Reversions in possession, without trouble or eviction by Act of Parliament for 99. years space, or receive other satisfaction from the King and Parliament to their contentment in such manner as I shall presently inform you.

Sixtly, To that concerning the present Rents which the King demands out of Bishops Lands which sticks most with Purchasers: many of them having purchased nothing but Rents, and others more rents then Lands in possession, which Rents must all be lost, if they must pay their old rents over to the King to their undoing, which would be both unjust, unconscionable, and dishonourable to the Houses, upon whose assurance and engagement to enjoy their bargains, they were induced both to lend money on, and to purchase these Lands afterwards, and would be no better then plain cheating, and render them odious to all the world, as some have objected.

I will not answer it with *Caveat emptor*, but desire them to observe that the King in his answer, doth not peremptorily require the Bishops old rents during the 99. years, but only disjunctively, either the old Rent, or some other *moderate Rent* to be agreed on, and if only a moderate proportion of the old rent be paid to the King, the Purchaser is sure to enjoy the residue during the 99. years, and so his purchase money not totally lost, as is objected. Besides, the King will not reserve these Rents to the use of himselfe, or the Crown, but only to the Church, and maintenance of the Ministers, in such manner as He and his Houses shall agree in the Bill for settling these Lands, in the way propounded by him. Which offer opens this just and honourable way for the Houses to give all Purchasers of Bishops Land and Rents full satisfaction both for the losse of their reversions after 99. years, and for the present rents which shall be reserved to the Crown out of Bishops Lands to the Churches use, which I beleve the King and Houses will readily consent to ; and that is, to settle by Act of Parliament, so much of the Dean and Chapters demesne Lands and Rents, upon the Purchasers, at the losse of their
Rever-

Reversions after 99. years, and present Rent to the Crowne shall amount unto, upon a iust computation. By which means the Purchasers, by way of Exchange of Deans and Chapters Lands and Rents for their Bishops, shall have such full and satisfactory content, even in kind, as will cleare the Honour, Justice, and Reputation of the Houses fair dealings in this particular, throughout al the world, and give the Ministers full satisfaction likewise, for the augmentation of whose livings and maintenance the Deanes and Chapters Lands and Rents are designed; by settling the reversion and Rents reserved to the Crown out of the Bishops Lands, for the Churches use, upon those who should have enjoyed the Deans and Chapters Lands thus settled on the Purchasers by exchange, which being of equall value, can be no losse nor prejudice to any.

This is such a visible and reall satisfaction to all purchasers, as none of them can justly open their mouths against, being both for their owne security and advantage, and the Kingdomes settlement. But if any of them dislike this reall satisfaction (which the King no doubt will yeeld to) there is an other means provided by this very Treaty for their satisfaction; and that is, by ready money, for what ever they shall lose by Bishops Lands in possession or reversion, by this Reservation to the Crown, which I am sure they never will nor can refuse in Justice or equity; they having the Bishops Lands conveyed to them only, by way of Mortgage or security for Moneys lent upon the publike faith. And the houses by the 12th. Article of this Treaty have time within two years space by Act or Acts, to raise any summes of money for the payment of the publique debts of the Kingdome, whereof the moneys lent upon Bishops Lands and the publique faith, are a principall part; and the same Justice of the Houses which hath already provided by severall Ordinances, a sufficient recompence and satisfaction for purchasers of Bishops Lands in cases of eviction, or of emergent charges and incumbrances discovered after the purchases made, may be a sufficient assurance to them of the Houses Justice, that they will give them as good or better satisfaction by one of these two wayes I have here propounded, for any thing they shall part with to the King or Church for the settlement of the Kingdomes peace.

Seventhly, it hath beene the solemn Protestation and Declaration of both Houses of Parliament, in all their *Remonstrances to the King, Kingdome and forraigne States, that they have taken up defensive Armes against the Kings Party, onely for the maintenance of Religion, Lawes, Liberties, &c. and to bring Delinquents to condigne punishment.* Now Bishops Lands and Rents, I am certaine, are neither our *Religion, Lawes, nor Liberties*; and I thinke they are no *Delinquents*, though most Bishops are. And shall we now after seven yeares Warres, and sixty dayes Treaty, make Bishops Lands, which for five yeares time or more of our Warres were never thought of, the sole or principall cause at least of our present breach with the King, and the onely ground of a new Warre? God forbid: will not the world then justly censure us for notorious hypocrites and impostors, pretending one thing, and intending another? will they not then say, that Bishops Palaces and Lands were the onely *Religion and Liberty* we have fought for, the onely *Delinquents* we have brought to publick Justice and execution? that we would never have suppressed Archbishops and Bishops, nor entered into a *solemn League and Covenant*, with *hands lifted up to heaven*, to endeavour to extirpate them as *Antichristian*, but onely to gaine and retaine all their *Lands and Revenues*, and never condemned their *Functions*, but onely to seize on their *Possessions*? And that we must now maintaine an *Army* upon their exhausted Purses and Estates, only to defend these Parchasers Titles to the Bishops Inheritances? If so, for shame let us never break off this Treaty, nor ruine two or three Kingdomes upon such an absurd dissatisfaction as this: And if our Parchasers of Bishops Lands shall still refuse to rest satisfied with that twofold recompence I have formerly mentioned, and keep up an *Army* to maintaine their Purchases, rather then yeeld to any reason, I shall humbly move, that not the whole Kingdome, but themselves may defray the Armies Taxes and Quarters, and then I am certaine they will have a dearer bargain then what the King or I have proposed for their satisfaction.

And the better to perswade them to embrace this compensation I have onely this more to offer both to them and you; That if you break off with the King upon this point, or close with the Army, they are most certaine to lose all for a bare Ordinance of both Houses in no legall Title, nor good security aganst King or Bishops, without the Kings concurrence and Royall assent unto it, and

and valid no longer then maintained by the Sword, the worst and most hazardous Title of all others, which will quickly cost the Purchasers and Kingdome treble the value of all the Bishops Revenues: and if they close with the Army to break the Treaty, they tell them in direct termes in print, in *The Case of the Army truly stated* (presented to the Generall by the Agitators of the Army at Hampstead, October, 15. 1647.) pag. 16. That whereas the times were wholly corrupt, when persons were appointed to make sale of Bishops Lands; and whereas Parliament-men, Committee-men, and Kinfolks were the only buyers, and much is sold, and yet it's pretended, that little or no money is received: And whereas Lords, Parliament-men, and some other rich men, have vast summes of Arrears allowed them in their Purchase, and all their moneys lent to the State paid them, while others are left in necessity, to whom the State is much indebted, and so present Money that might be for the equall advantage of all, is not brought into the publike Treasury by those sales: Its therefore to bee insisted on, that the sale of Bishops Lands bee reviewed, and that they may be sold to their worth; and for present Monies for the publike use, and that the sale of all such be recalled as have not been sold to their worth, or for present money.

This particular among others, they professe they have entered into a solemn engagement to prosecute, and are now marched up to London accordingly to pursue it, as their late Remonstrance and Declaration intimates, and themselves professe by word of mouth, which I desire the Members who have purchased Bishops Lands (who are generally most unsatisfied with the Kings answers, especially in this particular) seriously to consider, and then to make their Election; Whether they will now close with the Kings Concessions, and what I have here propounded for satisfaction of their Reversions after 99. years, and present Rents they may chance to part with, and so secure their purchases for this terme by Act of Parliament, and have full compensation for what they part with; either in ready money, or Deans and Chapters Lands and Rents, and so be no losers, but great gainers by the bargain; or else break with the King to please the Army, and so be certaine to lose all between them, not onely once, but twice over; for the Agitators in the Army tell them plainly, That all their Purchases shall be reviewed; and if they have purchased them to an under rate, or not for ready Money (which not one of them hath done, but by Tickets of their owne, or bought at very low values of others, which 'tis like

they will also examine) that then their sales shall be absolutely recalled, and sold to others at full values for ready money, and so all is lost in good earnest; or else they must re-purchase them for ready moneys at higher values, without any assurance from the King by Act of Parliament, and so lose them againe the second time, if ever He or his Prelaticall party should prevaile, and yet be enforced to answer and restore all the meane Profits they have taken to boot. A very hard chapter and bargain to digest, if they advisedly consider it, which by accepting the Kings offer is most certainly prevented: Who perchance in short time, upon second thoughts, and conference with learned men for the satisfaction of his conscience in the point of sacriledge, if he should consent to the totall alienation of these Lands from the Church, may come up fully to our desires, and part with the very inheritance to the purchasers, as amply as they have purchased it, rather then leave his owne and the Kingdomes interest wholly unsetled.

And for my part, I make little question, that had the Prelates and Clergy-men with the King at the Isle of Wight, dealt candidly and cleerly with him in this particular, of the sale of Bishops Lands, that might have easily satisfied his conscience in this very thing, as well as in others; from these grounds and matters of fact, which I shall but point at, to satisfy others, who perchance are scrupulous herein (even in point of conscience) as well as the King.

First, the King in his last Paper but one, in expresse terms professeth, That he hath abolished all but the Apostolicall Bishops, invested with a Negative Vote or Power in point of Ordination: And if so, then I am certain, he hath likewise abolished all Bishops Palaces, Lordships, Revenues, Rents and Possessions, it being most certaine, that neither the Apostles themselves, nor any Apostolicall Bishops of these Ordination, in their dayes, or for above 300. years after, had any Lands or Possessions annexed to their Apostleships, or Bishopricks, but lived meerey upon the alms and voluntary contributions of the people, (as Christ himselfe, Paul and the other Apostles did) as all Historians accord. If then his Majesty will retain none but Apostolicall Bishops, he must necessarily take away their temporall Lands and possessions annexed to their Bishopricks, to make them such, if he hath not already done it by his final Answer to this proposition, as I conceive he hath.

Secondly,

[a] Mar. 8. 22.
Luke 8. 2. Acts
3. 6. c. 4. 34. 35.
36. 37. c. 10. 10
5. c. 20. 34.
1 Cor. 4. 12.
1 Thes. 2. 9.
Phil. 4. 10. 10
20. 1 Cor. 11.
7. 8. 9. Gal.
1. 8.
[b] See M. Sel-
dens Hist. of
Synes.

Secondly, it is generally agreed by Historians, that *Constantine the great*, (our owne Country-man borne, and first *Crowned Emperour* at *York*, to the eternall honour of our *Island*, he being the first *Christian Emperour*, and greatest advancer of the *Christian Religion*, and destroyer of *Paganisme*) was the first who endowed the *Church* and *Bishops* with any *temporall Possessions*, about 350. years after *Christ*, though his pretended *donation* to the *Pope*, be but a meere fable; as Doctor *Crakenhorp* and others have manifested at large. Now ^d *Joannes Parisiensis*, *Naclerus* ^c *Polychronicus*, our English Apostle ^f *John Wickliffe*, our noble Martyr the ^s Lord *Cobham*, ^h *John Frith* a Martyr, learned ⁱ Bishop *Jewell*, and ^k others out of them record, That when *Constantine* endowed the *Church* and *Bishops* with *temporall Lands* and *possessions*, the voice of an *Angel* was heard in the *Ayre*, crying out; *Hodie venenum infunditur in Ecclesiam, this day is poyson powred into the whole Church of God*: And from that time, say they, because of the great *Riches* the *Church* had, (he was made the more *secular*; and had more *worldly businesse*, then *spirituall devotion*; and more *pomp* and *boast* outward, then *holinesse* inward: *Religio peperit divitias, & filia devoravit matrem*, which our *Bishops* and *Translators* of the *Bible* likewise mention in their *Epistle* prefixt to it. And *Ockam* saith, and others observe, That whereas all or most of the *Bishops* of *Rome* before that time were *Martyrs*, scarce one of them proved a Martyr afterwards; but in stead of being *Martyrs*, fell a persecuting and making *Martyrs*. And if this voyce of the *Angel* (perchance a *Bishop*, since our *Bishops* will needs have the *Angels* in *Rev. 2.* to bee *Bishops*) were true, and subsequent experience hath found it so; That *Bishops* and *Church-mens* *Temporall Lands*, *Possessions* and *endowments*, are no other but *poyson* to the *Church*, and his *Majesty* be convinced of the truth of this story, I hope he will be satisfied in point of *Conscience*; that it is no *sacriledge*, but *wholesome Physick*, to take away this *poyson* from the *Church*, which hath so much infected, corrupted, and would in fine destroy it and the *Bishops* too, and eat out all their piety and devotion.

Thirdly, most *Bishops* long after *Constantines* time, had very small or no *Revenues*, *Lands*, and no other *Palaces* to reside in, but poor little *Cottages*; it being all mens opinion in those dayes, ^m That stately *Palaces* belonged onely unto *Emperours* and *Princes*; and *Cottages* and *Churches* unto *Bishops*. The ⁿ fourth councell

^c *Polychron.*
^{l.} 4. c. 26. See.
^d *Crakenhorp*
 of *Const. Donat.*
^e *Euseb. de vita*
Constantin.
^d c. 22. in *vita*
Sylvestri.
^e *Hist. l. 4. c. 26:*
^f *Dialog. l. 4.*
^{c.} 15, 16, 17.
^g *Fox AAs and*
Monu. p 517.
^h 522.
ⁱ Answer to
 the *Preface* of
^m *Moore*
Book, p 116.
ⁱ *Ser. on Hag.*
^l p. 176. De-
 fence of the
Apology, part
^{6.} c. 9. *druid. 3.*
^k *Tho. Becons*
Reports of
certaine men,
^{vol.} 3 f. 341.
^l *Opus 90. Di-*
crum, c. 124.

^m *Fox AAs and*
Monu. vol. 2.
ⁿ p. 609, 610.
^a *Gra. dist. 4. 1.*

o Spel. Concil.
10m. l. p. 261.
263.

p De Brit. Eccl.
Primordiis
c. 4. p. 661. 736.
737. 13. 14.

q c. 21, 22. &c.
r See his Life
before his
Works, ho. 33.
in Matth. 21.
in 1 Cor.
s Naz. orat. 35.
t Niceph. Eccl.
hist. l. 18. c. 39.
n Niceph. l. 8. c.
42. Socra. eccl.
hist. l. 1. c. 12.
x Epist. 2.
y M. W. beten.
p 44, 45, 46.

of Caribage, about the yeare of our Lord 390. decreed, That the Bishop should have *HOSPITIO LUM*, a little *COTTAGE* or Hospitall to dwell in, near the Church, not a Palace. And in the ° Excerptions of Egbert Archbishop of York, An. 750. I find the same Canon renewed among us, as the Canon Law of this Realm, That Bishops and Presbyters should have *Hospitolum*, a small Cottage near the Church to live in; not a stately Mansion. So as our Bishops in those dayes had no great Palaces, Mannours, Temporalities, and their very Cathedrals were built onely with *Wattle*, or a few boards pieced together, and covered but with reed; Stone Churches covered over with *Slat* or *Lead*, being not in use among the Britains, Scots or Irish for many hundred yeers, as P Bishop Usher himsele asserts out of Bede, Eccles. hist. l. 3. c. 4. 5. and Bernard in the life of Malachy: And if their Cathedrall Churches were so meane, their Palaces certainly were but answerable (poor little Cottages) and their revenues little or nothing but the peoples Almes. Saint Augustine that renowned Bishop of Hippo, had but a meane house to live in, his Dishes and Trenchers were all Earthen, Stone, or Wood, his Table furnished with Pulse, Hearbs and a little Pottage onely, for the most part, seldome with Fleish: he had no Plate, but five or six Spooones, and when he dyed he made no Will at all, because the poore Saint of Christ had nothing to bequeath; as 9 Possidonium records in his life. Saint Chrysostome the Great famous Patriarch of Constantinople, and Gregory Nazianzen his Predecessor, had no stately Palace, Furniture, Household-stuffe, traine of Attendance, nor any goods or Revenues at all, nor: John the Almoner that succeeded them, nor that famous Spiridion, who kept a stocke as a mean Shepherd, though a Bishop: and eminent Saint Hierom (though no Bishop, yet the learnedst and famous Scholar in his age, or any after, and of great repute, x writes of himsele, that he lived in pauperi Tuguriolo, in a poore little cottage, having scarce clothes to cover his nakednesse. So y Saint Ambrose, Bishop of Millaine, was very poore, brake the Chalice in pieces to relieve poore people, and used this Maxime, *Gloriosa in Sacerdotibus Domini paupertas*. And if these great Lights, Bishops and Fathers of the Church (in whose Names our Prelates so much triumph) were so poor, that they had no Palaces, Houses and temporall Possessions, as our Archbishops and Bishops had; I can yet discerne no matter of conscience in it, why our Bishops should have more then these Pillars of the Church, either enjoyed or desired, they being content with

with food and raiment as *Paul* was, and desiring no more. It is storied of our ancientest Bishops that I read of, present at the Councell of *Ariminum*, Anno Domini 379. That they were so poore, that *inopia proprii, publico usi sunt*, they were maintained at the Emperours publique cost, for want of private maintainance of their owne; yet they were eminent both for Piety and Learning. And if their Predecessors were anciently so poore, it is no point of conscience to deprive our Lord Bishops, not onely of their Lands, but Function too, for the peace and settlement of three Kingdoms, now at the point of ruine. When the Church of Christ was miserably rent and torn in *Affrica* by the schismaticall Donatists, who would have no Prelates and Bishops; that eminent Bishop of *Hippo* Saint *Augustine*, and almost three hundred *Affrican* Bishops more, were content to lay downe their Bishopricks wholly for that Churches peace: and thereupon Saint *Augustine* uttered these memorable words, which I heartily with all our Bishops would consider, and then they would lay downe both their Lands and Bishopricks too, for our three Kingdomes present peace. *An vero Redemptor noster, &c? What verily did our Redeemer descend from Heaven: is selfe into humane members, that we should be made his members, and doe we feare to descend out of our Chaires, lest his very members should be torn in pieces with cruell divisions? We are ordained Bishops for Christian people, that therefore which profiteth Christian people to Christian peace, that let us doe concerning our Episcopacy. What I am, I am for thee, if it profit thee; I am not if it hurt thee. If we be profitable Servants, why do we envy the eternall gains of our Lord for our temporall sublimitie? Our Episcopall dignity will be more fruitfull to us, if being laid downe, it shall more unite the flock of Christ, then if it shall disperse it being retained. If when I shall retaine my Bishoprick, I shall disperse the flock of Christ, how is this damage of the flocke the honour of the Pastour? for with what forehead shall we hope for the honour promised in the world to come from Christ, if our honour in this world binder Christian Unity? They had no Bishops Lands then to part with, but yet for Peace and Unity sake, they were thus content to part with their very Bishopdoms themselves. And will not the King then in point of conscience part with the Bishops Lands for our present Peace, when he shall know or be truly informed of all this?*

Fourthly, for the Judgement of Divines, I could produce divers against the great Possessions of Bishops in all ages; as making them
secular.

*z Sulpitius Se-
verus sacr.
hist. l. 2. Offeri-
us de Brit. Ec.
Primordiis,
p. 196.*

*z August. de
Gestis cwn E-
merita, Donat.
Tom. 7. part. 1.
p. 772.*

[b] n my bre- secular, proud, vitious, lasie, which I have [b] formerly published at
 vate of the large: but I shall onely at present informe you, that our famous
 Prehars Vfur- [c] Iohn Wickliffe professedly maintained, That the King and tem-
 Parions Epist. porall Lords grievously sinned, in endowing the Bishops with large tempo-
 Dedicatory and porall Lords grievously sinned, in endowing the Bishops with large tempo-
 Appendix: The rall possessions, which hath reversed Christs Ordinances, and procreated
 antipathy of Antichrist, and that they were bound in conscience to take away their Lands
 English Pre- and Temporalties from ibem, which they had abused to Pride, Ambition,
 lacy, par. 2. and Temporalties from ibem, which they had abused to Pride, Ambition,
 c Dialogo: un, Discord &c. His Disciples, or noble Martyrs, William Swinderby,
 l. 4 c. 15, 16, John Parvey, Sir John Oldcastle, and after them, Pierce Plowman, Geoffrey
 17, 18, 26, 27. Chaucer, Mr. Tyndall, Doctor Barnes, John Frith, Sir Iohn Borthwike,
 Walsing. hist. (a Martyr) the Author of a Supplication to King Henry the
 p. 305. 302. 10 eight, the Author of the Image of a very Christian Bishop, and
 307. Fox Afts of a Counterfeit Bishop: William VVraughton, in his Hunting of
 & Monuments the Remiss Fox; Mr. Fish, in his Supplication of Beggars; Henry
 398. 414. 431. Stalbridge, in his exhortatory Epistle, and others, are of the like
 434. judgement; and Roderick Mors, in his Supplication to the Par-
 liament, (in Henry the eight his Reigne,) to omit Penry, and o-
 thers, in Queene Elizabeths Reigne. And why there should be
 more Sacriledge in taking away Bishops Lands in England then
 in Scotland, or Abbey Lands heretofore from Abbeys and Prio-
 ries, I cannot yet discern. All which considered, I hope his
 Majesties conscience may and will be rectified in this particular,
 before the Treaty be absolutely confirmed by Acts of Parlia-
 ment; so as this of Bishops Lands shall make no breach between us:
 In clearing which, I have beene the more prolix, because it is
 most insisted on of any thing, in point of dis-satisfaction, both by
 the King and us.

As for all our other Propositions, relating to the Peace and
 settlement of the Church, the King hath fully assented to them
 interminis: as namely, to the Bill for the better advancement of
 the preaching of Gods word, and setting godly Ministers in all parts
 of the Kingdome: To a Bill against Pluralities, and Non residen-
 cie: To an Act of Confirmation for the calling and setting of the
 Assembly of Divines: To an Act for the confirmation of the Directo-
 ry, and abolishing the Booke of Common-Prayer throughout the
 Kingdome, and in the Kings owne Chappell too. (yeelded unto in
 the Kings snall answer, though formerly stuck upon;) to an Act
 for taking the covenant throughout the Realme, only the King sticks
 at it (as yet unsatisfied in conscience) as to the taking of it himselve
 without some qualifications in it, which a Committee were ap-
 pointed

pointed to consider of, but have not yet reported ought to the House. Besides, he hath approved the lesser Catechism as far as you desired, who rest satisfied with his answer concerning it: And as for the *Presbyteriall Government*, he hath absolutely consented to settle it for three years.

But it hath been much insisted on by many, That the Kings Grant of the Presbyterian Government is no wayes' satisfactory, because only for three years; And therefore they will break off the Treaty for this reason, and vote the Kings answers upon the whole unsatisfactory, because too short in this particular. *Object.*

To which I answer, That the King *in terminis* hath granted as much as we desired. We desired its settlement but for three years, and many who most pretend dissatisfaction in this point now did, and do indeed desire no settled Government at all, no not for three years space: Therefore if there be any default in this, it was in the Houses Proposition only, not in the Kings answer, who was not obliged to grant us in this particular, or any other, more than we desired. Secondly, after the three years expiration the Presbyterian Government must remain till a new be agreed upon by consent of the King and both Houses, upon conference and advice with the Assembly of Divines, or that further established if found best and most suitable in the *interim*. *Answ.*

So as now upon all the branches of this Treaty, and the Kings answers thereunto, I conceive the Kings answers to be compleatly satisfactory in that sense I have stated and debated the question; as well for the safety and settlement of our Church and Religion as Kingdom; though the Kings Answers come not up fully to the Propositions in some two or three particulars only.

It is storied of *Alexander the Great*, that one demanding of him *Plur. A.* to give him a penny, he returned him this answer; *That it was too popish. little for Alexander to give:* Whereupon he demanded a *Talent* of him; whereunto he replied, *It was too much for a begger to receive.* We have denianded of the King in our own and the Kingdomes behalf in former Treaties, but a penny in comparifon, and then the King refused to grant it, though we would have been heartily contented with it, or lesse: But now we have in this Treaty demanded a *Talent*, and the King hath not thought it overmuch for him to grant, or for us to receive, and if we shall now ungratefully reject it, we know not why our selves, unlesse it be that God hath infatuated, and designed us unto speedy ruine for our sins; I must
L needs

* Luk 19 42. needs take up our *Saviours* Lamentation over dying *Jerusalem*, in relation unto *England*: *O that thou hadst known in this thy day, the things that belong unto thy Peace; but now they are hid from thine eyes. And I pray God they be not so far hid, that we shall never live to see any peace or settlement at all in Church or State, if we embrace not those Concessions now; the best, the largest, the honourablest, the safest, and most beneficiall that ever was tendred to any People by a King; and if we now reject, we shall never have the moiety of them granted us again, no though we seek them carefully with tears, as *Esau* did his last blessing, when he had overslipt his time but a very little.

For mine own part, I value no mens bare opinions in this debate, but their reasons which inforce them; and if I have not quite lost my reason and senses too, I have not heard one solid reason given by any Gentleman that differs from me, why the Kings Concessions upon the whole *Treaty* should be so unsatisfactory as utterly to reject them, and proceed no further. Most of the reasons to the contrary have been either cleer mistakes, both of the question, and Kings Answers, or our Propositions; (and mistakes are no reasons, but irrational;) or a fear in some Purchasers of Bishops Lands of an ill bargain, which I presume I have fully satisfied, or that which is to me the most unreasonable (though many Gentlemen chief and only reason) the Armes discontent and dissatisfaction, in case we vote it satisfactory: to which I shall give this Answer:

Ans. That though I honour the Army for their good services heretofore in the Field and Wars, and should as readily gratifie all their just desires as *Souldiers*, as any man; yet I must with just disdain and censure look upon their Magisteriall encroachments upon our *Councils*, and prescriptions to us, what to vote in our debates, or else they will be incensed, as the highest violation to the *Freedom*, *Honour* and *Priviledges* of *Parliament*; not to be Prejudented in former times, nor now to be endured. We all sit here, freely to speak our own *Mindes*, not the Armes pleasure; to follow our own consciences and judgments, not their imperious dictates; to satisfy the whole Kingdom, and those who have intrusted and sent us hither, whose *Representatives* and servants we are (not the Armes) by pitching upon that which is most conducing to their welfare:

welfare and our own too; not to satisfy the Army in all their unreasonable extravagant demands, (who are but ours and the Kingdoms servants, not Masters) to the Kingdoms, Peoples, and our own ruine, and the Armies too. And so much the rather, because I have observed a dangerous practice in some Officers and Members only of the Army, to make use of the whole Armies name, (without their privity or consents) forcibly to drive on their own private pernicious Designs in the House, and to fright and cudgell us into Votes (as some say we were cudgelled into a Treaty) with the very name of the Army, without any reason at all; and if that will not doe the feat, then they presently mutiny, and bring up the Army it self to or neer the Houses doors against them, contrary to our expresse commands (as heretofore and now they have done) to force us to Vote against our judgments, consciences, reason, and the publique safety, what ever they shall dictate, be it never so absurd, dishonorable to our selves, or destructive to the Kingdom; and though the Army, and those who usurp their name be not present at our debates (as they seldom are, though some of them are Members) yet if they suit not with their foreplotted Designs, they will presently censure them and those that passe them, without hearing or weighing of their reasons. And though they contend most earnestly for Libertie of Conscience for themselves, and all others of their confederacy out of the House, and for a Liberty for their own Party, to enter ** their* particular Protestations and Dissents to the House to any Vote they like not; yet they will admit no Liberty of Conscience, nor Freedom of dissenting unto us, nor us to be Masters of our own reason, Votes or discretions in the House it self, where wee should have most freedom (as is evident by sundry Magisteriall, over-ruling, censorious Passages in their late ** Remonstrance, November 20.*) and if we vote not fully with them, they presently take us for Apostates and violaters of our trust, fit, not only to be secluded the House for the present, but not to be entrusted for the future; to such an height of insolency are they grown. Therefore for any Members to make their pleasing, or displeasing of the Army, whom they thus abuse, the sole or principall reason of their *Ay*, or *No*, is such a Solcism and breach of Priviledge, as ought not now to be named, much lesse pressed as a reason, without some severe censure or exclusion from the House; especially in this instant debate, for the

** Remonstrance of the Generall and Officers, Novemb. 20. 1648: p. 5, 7 69. * Pag. 62. to 70. ibid. Their Declaration, Novemb. 2. and Answ. Jan. 3.*

settlement of our Peace, to which those who make a Trade of War, will certainly be most averse, having little else to live on, or support their present greatness, if the wars be ended.

Object. Yea, but they further object, That if we discontent the Army by voting the Answers satisfactory, we are undone, they will all lay down their Arms (as one Commander of eminency hath here openly told you he must do) and serve us no longer, and then what will become of us, and all our faithful friends?

Answer. I answer, That I hope the Army will not be so fullen, as to desert or turn against us, for voting what our consciences and judgments prompt us, is most for theirs, ours, and the Kingdoms safety; and that without hearing or scanning our debates: If they be, I shall not much value the protection of such unconstant, mutinous, and unreasonable servants; and I doubt not but if they desert us on so slight a ground, God himselfe and the whole Kingdom will stand by us who else I fear will both unanimously rise up against us, to ours, and the Armies destruction: And if the King and we shall happily close upon this Treaty, I hope we shall have no great need of their future service. However, *sic ut jussit, ruat cælum*, Let us do our duty, and leave the issue to God. It is better for us to perish doing our own duties, then to be justly destroyed by following other mens wills against our duties and consciences too. He that thinks to save himself or the Kingdom, by such a sinful and unworthy compliance, shall be certain to lose both himself and it in conclusion.

However, both the Arguments of *displeasing* the Army, and the *ill consequents* of it, are altogether extraneous and impertinent to the question, and amount but to this *Non sequitur*. The Army will not have us proceed further upon the Treaty to settle peace; Ergo, the Kings Answers are unsatisfactory. What will all wise men, what will the Kingdom, what will Scotland, Ireland, and our friends abroad (whose eyes are all intent upon the result of the Treaty, and must be satisfied in the reasons of our breach upon it lest they all fall foul upon us) think of such absurd Nonsense as this? Had the Treaty been only between the King and the Army, not him and the Houses, this reason might have contented some men; without expressing any grounds of their dissatisfaction (of which they think the Army more competent Judges then the Parliament:) but the Treaty being only between the King and both Houses, not the Army; that

we who are the only Parties to the Treaty, and Judges of the satisfactorinesse thereof, should set aside our own reasons, consciences, judgements, and make the Armies absolute peremptory will, the only principall reason of our *dissatisfactorinesse*, with the Kings Concessions, (which I am confident not ten men in the Army ever heard of, but by report alone and never seriously scanned, as we have done) is such an absurdity, as will render us for ever both ridiculous and odious to all, our friends and foes, to present, to future Ages. For shame therefore let us no more insist upon such *extravagancies*.

Having answered these two *Iron Arguments*, against the unsatisfactorinesse of the Kings Answers, and all others hitherto insisted on: I humbly conceive, I have fully satisfied every rationall mans conscience, that the King hath granted us all we have demanded, that is really necessary or conducing to the speedy settlement of a lasting and well-grounded Peace, and the future security of our State, Kingdom, Church, Religion, against all feared dangers from the King, or any others; and I shall challenge and put it to the conscience of any Gentleman dissenting from me, whether he can propound any one thing more (except an Oath which is intended when all is concluded) essentiall, for the fuller and firmer settling of our Laws, Liberties, Priviledges, Lives, Estates, Religion, Kingdoms, Parliaments, Army, and satisfying of all publike interests, then what have been already propounded and the King compleatly granted in this Treaty: If then the King hath granted us every thing, our selves during seven years advice and consultation could possibly think of for our security and settlement, far more then we our selves demanded in two or three former Treaties, and would have bin glad with the moiety of it within these few months, & ten thousand times more then we can gain by a breach with the King upon such disadvantages; why should we not all rest thankfully contented, and blesse our God, that he hath at last inclined the Kings heart to grant so much, whereas heretofore he refused to condescend to the tithe of that he hath granted now. Doubtlesse we can never answer such a peevish absurd ingratitude either to God or men, and those Counties, Cities, and Burroughs, who sent us hither in their needs, will conne us little thanks, for refusing Peace, upon such honorable, beneficiall and safe Concessions, as neither they nor we can ever hereafter hope for, if rejected now; upon no grounds of reason, but peevishnesse and will.

Object. If any object(as some have done)that the King indeed hath granted all we can desire; yet he is so perfidious in his Oaths and Promises(as we have found by sad experience,in all his Reign) that we cannot trust him; and therefore all he hath granted,is to little purpose.

Answer. I answer, That if all he hath granted were still in his own power to dissolve or recall at pleasure, this Argument were materiall: But since he hath put all our desired security in our hands alone,and such as our selves shall appoint, and left nothing unto his sole or joint disposall with us, the objection is but weak, and recoils upon our selves,that we dare not trust our selves with our safety. If a Shark come to borrow some money of a Usurer, whose word and hand he dares not take; yet if he give him a Pawn or Morgage of his Lands in hand,he will then trust him without any scruple: The King hath given such a sufficient Pawn,Morgage, and put it into our own hand, therefore we need not doubt him now.

* P.salm.
145.3.
Psal.118.
8,9.

Besides,if we cannot trust him for what he hath granted,it was a mockery of him and the Kingdome to treat with him to grant it: and if so, the Kingdom will say, they have little cause hereafter to trust us for such palpable dissimulation, as the King. For my part, I have seen so much experience in the world, that I dare trust none with my own or the Kingdoms safety, but God alone. * *Put not your trust in Princes, nor in any son of man in whom there is no help: It is better to trust in the Lord, then to put confidence in men or Princes,* have been my Maxims, and we have seen such strange Mutabilities and perfidiousnesse in men of all sorts since our troubles, that we cannot trust neither the King, nor Prince, City nor Countrey, this Generall, nor that Generall; this Army, nor those that were before it, nor yet our selves who are jealous one of another, trecherous one to another, distrustfull of all; and now distrusted by all, ever since we began to confide in men, and found out a new generation of *confiding men*: Let us begin to trust in God alone in the first place, and then we need not distrust the King for time to come any more then others, or our selves, whose dear bought experience of breach of former trust and promises, will make him more carefull of violating his present Concessions for the future, especially having put such security unto our own hands to bind him to an exact performance.

But

But it hath been objected by the Generall and Officers in the Army, in their late * Remonstrance, and by some who have spoken in this debate (who would teach the King before hand how to elude and vacat all his grants and promises) that all the Kings Concessions are and will be void, because made by duress of imprisonment whiles under restraint. Object. Nov. 20. p. 32, 33, 34, 35.

I answer, That the King during all this Treaty hath been in such a condition of honour, freedom, and safety, and had such free liberty of consultation and debate upon his own earnest desire and his parties too, as well as the Houses; that he can neither with honour nor justice avoid those Concessions by any pretext of Duress; especially since he hath denied some things, and had the same liberty not to have granted other things, had he been pleased not to grant them. Besides, the King is to confirm the whole Treaty by Acts of Parliament, to which he is to give his Royall assent (and Oath too) when all is concluded, and that in a free condition; & then no Duress can avoid them, nor more then *Magna Charta* it self first gained by the sword, and oft confirmed in Parliament by our Kings against their wills. In the year of our Lord 1222 Answer.

* The Barons demanding of King Henry the third, the confirmation of the great Charter, and their Liberties according to his Oath upon the conclusion of the Peace with Lewis of France: William Brewer one of his Councell, answered; That the Liberties they demanded were not to be observed nor confirmed, because they were forcibly extorted: Whereupon words growing between the Barons, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Brewer; the King closed up the strife with this honourable Answer: All of us have sworn to these Liberties, and that which we have assented and sworn to, **ALL OF US ARE BOUND TO OBSERVE.** We to this day enjoy these Liberties, being confirmed by Act of Parliament, and sworn to by our Kings, though forcibly extorted at the first. And so may we much more enjoy the Kings Concessions when turned into Acts, and sealed with a sacred Oath, superadded to a Royall assent. * Math. p. 305. Speed, p. 597.

Mr. Speaker, I have now waded through the whole Treaty, and given you the best reasons I can out of every parcell of it to prove the satisfactoriness of the Kings Answers, and answered all Objections hitherto made against my conclusion, I shall now, by your patience and leave, proceed a step or two further, to evidence by clear demonstrations and reasons to your consciences.

First

First, that our closing with the King upon these Concessions, is the only, the speediest, best, loyallest, safest and certainest way to settle a firm and lasting Peace, between the King, Parliament, and his three Kingdoms.

Secondly, that the new way to Peace and settlement proposed and prosecuted by the Generall, the Officers of the Army, and their friends in the House, is a most desperate, dishonourable, unsafe course, and certain way to speedy ruine, both of our King, Parliaments, Army, City, Country, and three Kingdomes too; yea, a meer project of the Jesuites, to destroy the King, dissolve this present, and all future Parliaments, betray Ireland to the Popish Rebels, subvert our Religion, Reformation, Laws, Liberties, Kingdoms, introduce Popery, Tyranny, slavery, and makes us a prey to our forreign Enemies: and if I make this clearly appear to all your consciences and reasons, I beseech you lay all your hands upon your hearts, and consider what you vote in this debate, lest you become instrumentall to the Jesuits, & accomplish these their designs, in stead of settling a safe and well grounded Peace upon their new-fangled foundations of liberty and safety, but indeed of slavery and ruine.

To begin with the first branch of the first of these assertions; That our closing with the King upon these Concessions, is the only way to settle a firm and lasting Peace between the King, the Parliament, and his three Kingdoms. Not to insist upon this generall; that *Treaties* in all Ages have been the usuall and only way to conclude and settle Peace and Unity between Kings and their People, and all dissenting Kingdomes, States, Persons, and therefore this *Treaty* now is the only way to our present Peace and settlement: I shall pitch only upon particulars.

First, that your selves in this House, and the Lords in their House, have severally and joyntly voted and resolved over and over heretofore, and published to all the world from time to time in sundry Declarations, Remonstrances, and other printed Papers since the Kings departure from the Houses, and the late Warres:

* *That it hath been, is, and alwayes shall be their cordiall desire, and sincere unwearied endeavour to settle a speedy, firm and well grounded Peace between His Majesty, his People, and three Kingdomes; and that this hath been the only end they have aymed at in all their Warres and Treaties with the King.*

* *That the Kings presence with, and Residence neer his Parliament, is of so great*

* Exact
Collect.
p. 607,
911. A
Collection
of all Or-
ders, p. 49.
51, 57, 58,
91, 446.
463, 879.
900.
* Exact
Collection
p. 102, 103
114, 115.

great necessity and importance towards the removal of our Distractions, Feares, Jealousies, the happy beginning of contentment betweene the KING and His People, and the settlement and preservation of the Peace and Safety of the Kingdome, and KINGS Person. That they thought they had not discharged their duties untill they had declared and backed it with some Reasons. That those persons who advised His MAJESTY to absent Himselfe from His Parliament, are an Obstruction, and Enemies to the Peace of this Kingdome, and justly suspected to be favourers to the Rebellion in Ireland. * That the sending of Propositions, and a Treaty with the KING, and a good close with Him and His Commissioners thereupon, is the only way to settle a firme, safe, and lasting Peace. And this is the only way and meanes you have hitherto pursued to obtaine such a Peace and settlement.

* Exact
Col. p. 907.
&c. A Col.
of all pub-
lique Or-
ders, &c.;
of both
Houses, p.
49, 53, 58,
71, 72. &c.
61, 118.
456, 463,
879, 900.
* A Coll.
p. 900.

Secondly, the Parliament of Scotland and their Commissioners here employed, have voted and resolved this, the onely way and meanes to such a * Peace and Settlement, both for this kingdom, and their own too, and have joyned with us in all former Treaties, and promioted this.

Thirdly, the generality of the People, and all the wisest and most cordiall to the Publique Interest both of the Parliament and kingdome, have approved and desired a Treaty and close with the KING, as the onely meanes of Peace and settlement, as is evident, by their frequent and multiplied Petitions to both Houses.

Fourthly, the * KING himselfe and all his party, when tyred out with the miseries of War, have desired and embraced a Treaty, as the only means to close our bleeding wounds, and make a firme Union betweene the King, Parliament and three Kingdoms.

* Exact
Col. p. 911.
912, 913.
A Coll, p.
51, 52,
110, &c.

Fifthly, the Generall, Officers, and Councell of the Army themselves, when in their right senses, and not intoxicated with selfe-conceit and Jesuiticall Principles, have Publicly declared, that compliance by a Treaty with the KING, and restitution of Him to a condition of Honour, Freedom, and Safety, was the only way to a lasting Peace and settlement; yea, the Grandees of the Army were so over forward to comply, treat, and close with Him upon termes more dishonourable, and lesse safe then these we are now a closing with him in this Treaty; that when they falsly impeached the eleven Members the last Summer in the House of Commons, for holding secret intelligence and correspondence only with Him, without consent of the House; themselves at that very instant, without and against

Note this.

See *Putney*
Projects
Animad-
versions
 upon the
Armes
Remon-
strance.
 The Army
 for a
Treaty.
 The Kings
Answer to
 the *Pro-*
positions
 sent to
 him, to
Hamp.
Court. 7.
 Sept. 1647

' consent of the Houses were secretly treating and complying with
 ' him upon proposals framed by themselves, and perswade the King
 ' to reject the Houses Proposition sent to his Maj. to Hampton Court,
 ' to treat upon those they had tendered to him privately, without the
 ' Houses privy, as more advantageous to him, and his party, then the
 ' Parliaments, declaring to all the world; that they were as cordiall
 ' to the King, as desirous to bring him up to London, & to restore him
 ' to a condition of honor, freedom, and safety, and more favourable
 ' to Delinquents in mitigating their fines and punishments, then the
 Houses. All which they are not ashamed to acknowledge in their last
 Remonstrance Novemb 20. p. 43. 44. yet with this detestable brand up-
 on themselves, That their compliances with him were but negative :
 Secondly what we declared of Moderation, was but Hypotheticall : with
 carefull caution, and saving for the publique interest, according to
 OUR THEN UNDERSTANDING OF IT, &c. Yet however, in
 that degree of compliance admitted in that kinde, we find matter of acknowleg-
 ment before the Lord, concerning OUR ERROR, FRAILTY, UN-
 BELIEF, and CARNAL COUNCELS THEREIN,
 and we blesse him that preserved us from worse. If their compliance and
 Treaty with the King &c. was but Hypotheticall [as I fear this very
 Remonstrance and their acting since all are, or at least wise Jesuiti-
 cal,] I hope our Treaty shall be reall, and not in their power to
 make it Hypocritical, as they have attempted, by endeavouring to force
 us, by this Remonstrance and their subsequent advance to London to
 break it off, to render us odious to our King and kingdoms, God
 and all good men, and translate the *Odium* of it from themselves to
 us. And because themselves may discover their owne *Apostasy* from
 their former principles, which they would falsly father upon us, and
 how justifiable and advantageous to the kingdom our closing with
 the King upon these Propositions, are before all the world, be plea-
 sed to take notice of these following passages in their own Letters,
 Declarations, and Remonstrances: made upon mature advice a year
 before this Treaty.

In the humble Remonstrance from his Excellency and the Army under
 his command, presented to the Commissioners at St. Albans, June 23. 1647
 p. 12. they print. 'Whereas there has been scandalous informations
 ' presented to the Houses & industriously published in print, impor-
 ' ting, as if his Majesty were kept as prisoner amongst us, barbarously
 ' and uncivilly used, We cannot but declare, that the same and all o-
 ' ther suggestions of that sort, are most false, scandalous & absolutely
 ' contrary not only to our declared desires, but also to our principles,
 which

' which are most clearly, for a generall Right and just freedom to all.
 ' And therefore, upon this occasion, we cannot but declare particu-
 ' larly, that we desire the same for the King and others of his party,
 ' (so far as can consist with common right and freedom, and with the
 ' security of the same for the future) And we do further clearly con-
 ' fesse, we do not see how there can be any peace to the kingdom firm Note.
 ' or lasting, without a due consideration of, and provision for the
 ' Rights, quiet and immunity of his Majesties royall Family, and his
 ' late partakers: And herein we think that tender and equitable deal-
 ' ing [as supposing their cause had been ours] & a spirit of common
 ' love and justice, diffusing it self to the good and preservation of all,
 ' will make up the most glorious conquest over their hearts [if God
 ' in mercy see it good] to make them, and the whole people of the
 ' land lasting friends. And in the Representation of the Army, June
 ' 14 1647. there are the like expressions of their judgments, in rela-
 ' tion to the King and his party too.

In a Letter of Sr. T. Fairfax to both Houses of Parliament, giving an
 account of some transactions between his Majesty and the Army, da-
 ted from Redding July 6. 1647, there is this passage [which he there de-
 clares ' to be the generall sense of all or most part of the Officers in
 ' the Army.] In general, we humbly conceive, that to avoid all harsh-
 ' ness, and afford all kind usage to his Majesties person, in things con-
 ' sisting with the peace and safety of the kingdom, is the most Chri-
 ' stian, honorable, and prudent way: and in all things we think, that
 ' tender, equitable and moderate dealing, both toward his Majesty and
 ' his Royal family, and late party, so far as may stand with the safe-
 ' ty of the kingdom, and security to our common rights & liberties, Note.
 ' is the most hopefull course to take away the seeds of war, or future
 ' seeds amongst us, for posterity; and to procure a lasting peace and
 ' a government, in this distracted Nation.

Since this: the Officers and Army in their proposals 1 Aug. 1647.
 for the settlement of a firm peace: have this for one, That His Majesties
 person, Queene and Royall issue, may be restored to a condition of safety, honor, Note.
 and freedom in this Nation, without diminution of their personall Rights,
 or further limitation to the exercise of the regall power, then according to the
 particulars foregoing.

These proposals of the Army, were so pleasing to His Majesty, that
 in his answer to the propositions presented to him at Hampton Court
 the 7 of Septemb. 1647. by the Commissioners of both Houses and
 of the kingdome of Scotland, he refused to grant the Propositions by
 them tendered, as being destructive to many principall interests of the
 Army

* Army, and of all those whose affections concurred with them. And he gave this further answer to them. That his Majesty having seen the proposals of the Army to the Commissioners from his 2 Houses residing with them, and with them to be treated in order to the clearing and securing the Rights & liberties of the kingdom, as to the settling of a just & lasting peace. To which proposals, as he conceives, his two Houses not to be strangers, so he believes they will think with him, that they more conduce to the satisfaction of all interests, & may be a fitter foundation for a lasting peace than the propositions which at this time are tendered to him. He therefore propounds (as the best way in his judgement in order to peace) that his two Houses would instantly take into consideration those proposals upon which there may be a personal Treaty with his Majesty, & such other proposals as his Majesty shall make, hoping that the said proposals may be so moderated in the said Treaty, as to render them the more capable of his Majesties full concessions; wherein he resolves to give full satisfaction to his people, for whatsoever shall concern the settling of the Protestant profession, with liberty to tender consciences & the securing of the laws, liberties, and properties of all his subjects, and the just privileges of Parliament for the future &c. In which Treaty, his Majesty will be pleased (if it be thought fit) that Commissioners from the Army, whose the proposals are, may likewise be admitted.

* See Prynne's Propositions.

Loe, here we have the General, Officers, and Army it self so zealous of a personal Treaty with the King, for settlement of this kingdoms peace, and the carrying on of their owne interests, that themselves draw up proposals for a Treaty with him, without the Houses privacy: yea, prevail * with him to lay aside the Houses Propositions to treat upon theirs, as more advantageous to him and his, and less beneficiall to the kingdoms interest.

* From July 30. till Nov. 20.

In which Treaty he desires, that Commissioners from the Army (whose the proposals were) might likewise be admitted: & yet these Zealots for a Treaty then, are most furious to break off our Treaty now, even by open force and violence, almost upon the very close, though they never made any opposition against it during * all its Agitation; perchance to bring on another Treaty with the King upon their own proposals; wherein the King and they will be the only Treators, and the Houses but idle Spectators, to rob them of the honor and benefit expected by our present Treaty and of settling of the kingdoms peace, on so good terms for the publike interest.

In

In fine, the *Generall* and *Army under his command*, in their *Remonstrance*, of the 18 of *August*, 1647. [approved and printed by *Order of the House of Peers*,] p.14. do thus expresse their readinesse and desire for the Parliaments closing with the King, upon good grounds, and his bringing up to LONDON, [though now they cry out for nothing but
 ' Justice and execution to be done upon him, as their capital Enemy;]
 ' For our parts, we shall rejoyce as much as any, to see the King brought
 ' back to his Parliament, [and that] not so much in place, as in affection
 ' and agreement, on such sound terms and grounds as may render both
 ' him, and the kingdom safe, quiet, and happy. And shall be as ready
 ' as they to bring his Majesty to LONDON, when his being there may
 ' be likely to produce (not greater disturbances or distractions, but) a
 ' peace indeed, and that such, as may not [with the Shipwrack of the
 ' publike interest] be shap'd and moulded only to the private advantages of a particular party or faction, but bottom'd chiefly on grounds
 ' of common and publike welfare and security.

The General, Officers and Army therefore, being so zealous for a Treaty and close with the King, in all these severall *Remonstrances*, *Papers*, and *Proposals*, as the only hopefull way of settling and securing the kingdoms peace, cannot without the highest injury, and most detestable juggling, Hypocrisie, and Apostasie from their own engagements & principles (wherewith they do now falsely charge the House) dislike our present proceedings in the self same way, upon his Majesties Concessions in this Treaty, which by all these particular resolutions, and the Armies own acknowledgments, is the only way of Peace and settlement.

Secondly, As it is the only, so the speediest way of all other: if we now accept of these Concessions, (the most whereof I have turned into Bills already, and shall turn all the rest into Bills by our next sitting) I see no reason but we may in one fortnight, at least by the first of *Jan.* next, have fully settled and concluded all things in difference between the King and us, to the general content and safety of all honest men: and so end the old and begin the new year with peace. Whereas if we now break off and let go all the King hath granted, I see no end of our Wars and miseries, nor any probable means of peace and settlement in many years at least, if ever in this or the succeeding Generation. And the speediest remedy in this case (especially considering the kingdom is so far exhausted, that we know neither how to pay our publike debts, our Fleet, or Army their present Arrears, much lesse their future) must needs be the best, and be preferred before all

others that will require more time, and expence, and be more hazardous and contingent in the event.

Thirdly, As it is the speediest, so the best, and legallest, safest and certainest way of all others.

First, there is no danger nor hazard at all in it, nor any expence of money or effusion of blood: 'tis but accept, and then confirm by Acts and Oaths, and the work is presently done: If we think of settlement in any other way, we must fight again, and that will be both costly & hazardous: and when all is done, we must Treat again, perchance upon worse terms, else there will be no peace nor settlement.

Secondly, This is the way we have ever formerly pitched upon, the way all parties have consented to and approved, but those alone who desire neither peace nor settlement: Therefore best, safest, and durablest.

Thirdly, It is the legallest, certainest, because a peace and settlement by Acts of Parliament the highest security to English men under heaven, to which King, Lord, Commons, & in them the whole kingdom consent, & will all acquiesce in what is done, without question or future dispute: What peace soever is settled otherwise, either by a bare Order or Ordinance of the Houses, or by the Sword & power alone: will neither be sure, safe, nor lasting, no longer then maintained by the Sword, & every man will be sure to question and unsettle all again upon the least advantage given. The highest security that England ever had, was *Magna Charta*, and the Charter of the Forrest: these were gained by the Sword, but not held by it.

That which hath kept & perpetuated these since their making was those Acts of Parliament which confirmed them, These are only security for what ever we enjoy, which will survive all other we can think of, *Nullum violentum est diuturnum*: Whereas priviledges kept and held by publike Acts will last for ever, and be entailed to us and our posterities, with peace and happiness attending them. This was the way of settling peace between Kings and Subjects heretofore, in Henry the 3. Edward the 2. Richard the 2. Henry the 6. Reigns, and an Act of Pacification and Oblivion was the only safe and usuall way the Parliaments both of England and Scotland lately fixed on, to settle a firm and lasting peace between both Nations, kingdoms. All other settlements will be but like an ulcer skinned over, which will soone break out again, with greater pain and danger then before.

Lastly, For the new way propoted by the Army, for a firm peace & settlement, it is certainly the most desperate, dishonourable, dangerous

rous and destructive that can possibly be imagined, and such as we can neither in honour, justice, conscience nor prudence embrace. To examine it a little by parts.

The first way to peace and settlement propounded by them, is presently to break off the Treaty: and that, contrary to our publique faith to the King and kingdom, yea, to our own votes, before the Treaty was fully ended: this is the drift of their whole Remonstrance. Which as it will totally, if not finally deprive us of the fruit & benefit of all the K. Concessions in the Treaty, [all which are by mutuall agreement no wayes obligatory to either party in any particular unless all be agreed] being all that we can possibly think of for our safety and advantage, and more then any Nation under heaven yet inioined, so it wil inevitably cast us upon present wayes of new distractions, confusions and civill wars, now we are quite exhausted, and end at last in our absolute destruction, instead of a wel-grounded peace, and those blessings we may forthwith enjoy for the very accepting, without further charge or trouble. But if God, beyond our hopes, should after any new embroyments give us peace, yet it must be upon a new Treaty, and that perchance upon far worse terms then now are offered. Therefore it must needs be dangerous to reject a safe way, to follow a hazardous or destructive one.

The next thing proposed by them for a speedy peace and settlement, is the bringing of the *King to speedy justice for all his treasons and bloodshed in the late wars, and then to depose and execute him as the greatest capitall malefactor in the kingdom:

* Remonstrance p. 60. to 64.

This certainly is a very dangerous and unlikely way to peace and settlement. First of all, *The smiting of the Shepherd, is the way to scatter, not unite the sheep. The slaying of the King or Generall in the field, *catters and dissolves the Army, not secures them. To cut off an aking head, is the next way to destroy, not cure a diseased body: such kind of State policy may destroy, or disturb, but never settle us in perfect peace: The Prince, his next heir, the Queen, the Duke of York, all his Children, and Allies both at home and abroad, will certainly meditate revenge, and all Kings in Christendom will assist them, even for their own interest and safety, lest it should become a president for themselves. And [will this then secure or be a likely way to peace or settlement?

* Zech. 13. 7. 1 King. 22. 17.

2. The greatest part of the Members in both Houses, the Lords, Gentlemen, and all sorts of people throughout the kingdom, the whole kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland, (who have

have as great an interest in the Kings person being their lawfull King, as we have, and are obliged by Allegiance and Covenant to protect his person and Crown from violence) will unanimously, as one man oppose and protest against it, and by force of Arms, endeavour to bring those to execution who shall presume to advise, or attempt to depose or destroy the King in any kinde, contrary to their Allegiance and solemne Covenant: Yea all Protestant Realms, Churches, States in forraign parts will abhorre both the fact, and adjudge it contrary to their principles and Religion, and that which may irritate Popish Kings and Princes to take up arms to ruine them, lest they should fall into the like Jesuiticall practice. And can this be a safe or speedy way to peace and settlement, especially when we know not what Government shall succeed upon it, and can expect nothing but bloody consequences from such a bloody Jesuiticall advice?

Thirdly, I never read of any peace or settlement in any kingdom, where King-killing was practised or approved. When the Roman Armies began once to kill their Emperours, and cut off their heads,

* they were scarce ever free from civill warres. One Army set up one Emperour, another Army another, the Senate a third, who alwayes warred till they had cut off one anothers heads. Most of those Emperours had very short reigns, few of them above a year or two, and some of them scarce two months, but most of them untimely deaths. In Slavonia and Norway, where they had a Law, that he that slew a Tyrant King, should succeed him in the Throne: They had almost every year a new King, perpetuall wars and disorders, and not one of all their Kings for above one hundred years together ever came to a natural death, but was murdered as a Tyrant, and succeeded by a worse and greater tyrant: as * *Saxo grammaticus* and *Nubrigensis* testifie.

* See *Eutropium* and *Grimstones* Imperiall History.
* *Danica* Histor. l. 8. p. 120.
* *Rerum Anglicarum* l. 3. c. 6.
2 Chron. 5. 5, 6. c. 2
Kings c. 1. to cap. 25.

And in the sacred story it selfe, it is very observable, that after the ten Tribes revolted from Rehoboam, though by Gods Justice and approbation for Solomons finnes; they had never any peace or settlement, but perpetuall Wars with one Kingdome or another, or between themselves; Their Kings, or most of them were all Tyrants and Idolaters, and by the just hand of God, for the most part tumultuously slaine and murdered one of and by another, who succeeded them: he that murdered his Predecessor, being usually slain by his Successor, or his Predecessors Sons, Servants, or by the People of the Land, in a tumultuous way: In the 2 Kings 15. We read in that one Chapter of no lesse then 4 of those Kings slain one by another: and as for the people under these Kings they had never any rest, peace, settlement, or freedome, but lived under the greatest misery and oppression that ever any Subjects under Heaven did,

as the sacred History records. This King-killing certainly can be then no probable way at all to peace, safety, settlement, freedome, but the Jesuits pollicy to deprive us eternally of all these, and of God, and Religion to boot; as it did the ten Tribes heretofore.

Fourthly this way to peace and settlement is directly contrary to all the former Engagements, Oaths, and severall Petitions, Declarations, Remonstrances, Protestations, and professions, of both Houses of Parliament to the King, Kingdome, people, wherein wee have alwayes protested and held forth unto them both before and since the Warre.

** That we will preserve and protect the Kings person from danger, support his Royall estate with honour and plenty at home, with power and reputation abroad, and by our loyall affection, actions and advice, lay a sure and lasting foundation of the greatnesse and prosperity of his Majesty, and his Royall posterity in future times. That we are still resolved, to keep our selves within the bounds of faithfulnessse and allegiance to His sacred Person and Crown. That we will with our lives, fortunes estates, and with the last drop of our blood endeavour, to support His Majesty, and his just Sovereignty and power over us; and to prevent all dangers to His Majesties Person.*

* Exact
Collecti-
on, p. 1,
21, 644,
100, 101,
102, 103,
125, 214,
281, 307,
458, 464,
466, 474,
584, 587,
588, 605,
631, 632,
637, 641,
642, 661,
16, &c.

*That wee tooke up armes as well for Defence of His Majesty, to protect His Person, as the Kingdome and Parliament; without any intent to hurt or injure His Majesties person or power; professing in the presence of Almighty God, That we would receive Him with all honour, yeeld him all due obedience and subjection, and faithfully endeavour to secure His person and estate from all danger; and to uttermost of our power to procure and stablish to Him and His People, all the blessings of a glorious and happy reign; which both Houses severall times protested and remonstrated to the world. * That the allegation that the Army raised by the Parliament, was TO MURDER and DEPOSE THE KING, was such a scandall, as any that professed the name of a Christian could not have so little charity as to raise it; especially when they must needs know, the Protestation taken by every Member of both Houses; whereby they promise in the presence of Almighty God, to defend His Majesties person; and all their addresser and Petitions to him expressing the contrary: That they never suffered it to enter into their thoughts to depose the KING, abhorring the very thought of it, much more the intent. That they never suffered the word DEPOSING the King, to goe out of their mouths, nor the thing to enter into their*

* Ibid. pag.
657, 648,
645, 687,
617, 621.

thoughts, That they rest assured, both God and Man will abominate that monstrous and most injurious Charge layed upon the Representative Body of this whole Kingdome by the Malignant party, against the KING; as deligning not onely the ruine of His MAJESTIES person, but of MONARCHY it selfe: The Authors of which malicious horrid scandall, they professe to make the Instances of their Exemplary Justice, so soon as they shall be discovered. Now for Us after all these multiplyed reiterated Protestations, Promises, Engagements, Declarations, Remonstrances to all the World, from the beginning of the differences and wars till now, to think or talk of deposing and destroying of the King, and altering the Government, as the only safe and speedy way to peace and settlement, as the Army-Remonstrants prescribe; would be such a most detestable breach of Publike Faith; such a most perfidious, treacherous, unrighteous and wicked act, as not only God, Angels, and good men; but the very worst of Turks and Devils would abhor: and therefore its a miracle to me, that these precious Saints should thus impudently, before all the World propose to the House, and force you to pursue it, to stain your reputation, and make you execrable to God and Men.

Fifthly, the very Oath of Allegiance, which every one of us hath taken, upon our first admission to be Members, engageth us in positive terms, Not to offer any violence or hurt to His MAJESTIES Royall Person, State, or Government, to beare faith and true Allegiance to His MAJESTY, His Heirs and Successors; and Him and Them to defend to the uttermost of our power, against all Conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against His or Their PERSONS, CROWNE, or DIGNITY: And from our hearts to abhorre, detest, and abjure as impious and hereticall; this Jesuiticall and Popish Doctrine, That Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, (as it seems the KINGS is now for extirpating Episcopacy, Popery, Mass, and Prelacy out of His Dominions by His present Concessions, without any possibility or hopes of replanting) may be deposed or murdered by their Subjects or any other whatsoever. Which Jesuiticall contrivance and practise as our whole State and Parliament, in the Statutes of 3. Jac. cap. 1, 4, 5, 35. Eliz. cap. 1. and other Acts resolve, is the only way to unsettle, ruine and subvert, not to settle and establish the Peace and government of our Realme. And both Houses since this Parliament, have by a Solemne Protestation first, and by a Solemne League and Covenant since, with Hands lifted up to the most High God, engaged

engaged both themselves and the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by a most sacred and serious vow and protestation (purposely made and prescribed by them, For the Honour and Happinesse of the King and his Posterity, and the true publike Liberty, safety and peace of the three Kingdoms, as the Title and Preface declare) sincerely, really, and constantly to endeavour with their estates and lives, TO PRESERVE AND DEFEND THE KINGS MAJESTIES PERSON AND AUTHORITY, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdome, (which he hath now fully and actually performed by his Concessions in this Treaty) That the World may beare witness with our Consciences, OF OUR LOYALTY, and that WE HAVE NO THOUGHTS OR INTENTIONS TO DIMINISH HIS MAJESTIES JUST POWER AND GREATNESSE. And shall also with all faithfulness endeavour the discovery of all such as shall be Incendiaries or evill instruments, by DIVIDING THE KING FROM HIS PEOPLE: That they may be brought to speedy tryall, and receive condign punishment. And shall not suffer themselves directly, or indirectly by whatsoever combination or terrour, to be withdrawne or make defection from this Covenant; but shall all the dayes of their lives really and constantly continue therein against all opposition, and promote the same against all lets and impediments whatsoever. And this Covenant we all made in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all Hearts; WITH A REALL INTENTION TO PERFORME THE SAME, as we shall answer at that great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed.

Now how we, who are Members of this House, or any who are subjects of our three kingdomes, or Officers and Souldiers in the Army who have taken this Oath of Allegiance, Protestation, League or Covenant, or any of them, (as some of them have done, all or two of them at least, sundry times over) can, without the highest perjury to God, Treachery to the King, perfidiousnesse to the kingdome, Infamy to the World, Scandall to the Protestant Religion, and eternall dishonour to the Parliament and themselves, Atheistically break through or elude all those most Sacred and Religious ties upon our souls; by a speedy publike dethroning and decolling of the KING, and dis-inheriting his Posterity; (as the Army Remonstrants advise,) and that in the open view of the World, and that

A Collec-
tion of
all the
publique
Orders, &c.
p. 422, 423.

Al-seeing God, to whom we have thus appealed and sworne, by that Jesuiticall equivocations or distinctions, (of which the Armies Remonstrance is full or professions of our damnable hypocrisie in the breaking of them, transcends my understanding. And for those who stile themselves SAINTS, and charge this as one of the Highest Crimes against the King, His frequent breach of Oathes and Promises, to transcend him & Jesuites in this very sin, is such a monster of impiety as I conceive could never have entred into the hearts of Infidells, or the worst of Men or Divells. And to act this under a pretext to preserve and settle the Peace of the Kingdom, is such a solecisme, as militates point-blank against the very words and scope both of this Oath, Protestation, League and Covenant, which crosseth not the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, but more strongly engageth all men to preserve and defend the Kings Person and Authority, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdome; as the Assembly of Divines, and both Houses affirm in their Exhortation to take the Covenant, which prescribes this as the only meanes of securing and preserving Peace in all the three Kingdomes; to preserve the Person and Honor of the King, his Crown and Dignity, from any such violence and invasion as is now suggested by the Army, which all three of them engage us, and all three Kingdoms, with our lives and fortunes really and constantly to oppose, against all lets and impediments, &c. and to bring those to condigne punishment as Incendiaries and evill Instruments who suggest it. So as if the Army will proceed in this Jesuiticall destructive way, of Treason and ruine; Wee, and all three Kingdoms are solemnly engaged with our estates and lives unanimously to oppose and bring them to Justice. And is this then the way to publike peace and settlement, to raise another new War to murder one another in this new Quarrell, wherein the Army and their adherents, must be the sole Malignants and enemies we must fight with, &c? No verily, but the high-way to the Kingdoms & Armies ruine, whose Commissions wee are obliged to revoke; whose Contributions wee must in conscience withdraw: and whose power wee must with our own lives resist, unlesse we will be perjured, and guilty of breach of Covenant in the highest degree, if they persist in these anti-Covenant Demands.

7. Both Houses having held a Personall Treaty with the King so lately, and he having granted us in that Treaty whatsoever we have or can demand for the safety and preservation of our Religion, Laws, and

and Liberties; and both Houses engaged themselves by Vote in answer to the Kings Propositions, *to restore him to a condition of Freedom, Honour, and Safety, according to the Lawes of the Realm* (which was the Armies own propofals in his behalfe in August, 1647.) Wee can neither in honesty, honour, justice nor conscience (were hee ten thousand times worse then the Army would render him) depose and bring him to execution. It being against all the rules of Justice, and honour between two professed enemies, who had no relations one to another; much more between King and Subjects in a civil War, and a thing without president in any ages. To this the^{*} Army Remonstrance answers, *That this would be thought an unreasonable and unbecom- P. 61, 62.*
seeming demand in a personall Treaty, between persons standing both free, and in equall ballance of power; but not when one party is wholly subdued, captivated, imprisoned, and in the others power. But this certainly is a difference spun with a Jesuiticall thread; For to treat with any King in our power, or out of it, on articles of Peace, upon these terms; That if he consent to them, We will restore him to his Throne with Honor, Freedom, Safety; and when he hath yeilded us our Demands, then to depose and cut off his head, is the highest breach of Faith, Truth, Honor, and Justice, that can be imagined: and those who dare justify such perfidious and unchristian dealing deserve rather the stile of *Turks* and *equivocating Jesuites*, then *pious Saints*.

8. There is no president in Scripture, that the Generall Assembly, or Sanhedrin of the Jews or Israelites, did ever judicially imprison, depose or execute any one of the Kings of *Judah* or *Israel*, though many of them were the grossest Idolaters, and wickedest Princes under heaven; who shed much innocent blood, and oppressed the people sundry waies. We know that *David* himselfe committed adultery with *Uriah* his wife, a faithfull Servant and Souldier, whiles he was with his Generall *Joab* in the field: and then afterward caused him to be treacherously slain. Yet neither the Assembly of the Elders, nor *Joab* and the Army under him, did impeach or crave Justice against him for these sins, though hee lived impeniently in them. And when hee numbred the people afterwards, for which sin seventy thousand of his Subjects lost their lives; yet was hee not arraigned nor deposed for it: and God who is Sovereignly just, though *David* was the principall malefactor in this case, it not the sole; and thereupon *when hee saw the Angell that smote the people,* ^{2 Sam. 24.}
 cried out; *Lo, I have sinned and done wickedly; but these Sheep, what* ²⁷

1 King. 11.
& 12.

have they done? Let thy hand bee against mee and my Fathers house : Yet God spared him and his household, though the principalls, and punished the people only with death, for this sin of his. After him *Solomon* his son, a man eminent for wisdom and piety at first, apostatized to most grosse Idolatry of all sorts, to please his idolatrous Wives, and became a great oppressor of his people, making their burthens very heavy; yet his Subjects or Souldiers did neither impeach nor depose him for it; and though he were the principall offender, yet God spared him for *David's* sake, in not taking the ten Tribes from him for these sins, during his life; though he rent them from his son *Rehoboam*, who was at most but accessory, for his Fathers sins, not his. True it is, some of the Idolatrous Kings of Israel, by the just avenging hand of God were slain by private conspiracies, and popular tumults, in an illegall way; but not deposed nor arraigned by their Sanhedrins, or Generall Congregations; and those who slew them, were sometimes slain by others who aspired to the Crown, or by the people of the Land, or by their children who succeeded them, and came to untimely tragicall ends.

9. Though there be some Presidents of Popish States and Parliaments deposing their Popish Kings and Emperors at home, and in forraign parts, in an extraordinary way, by power of an armed party: Yet there is no president of any one Protestant Kingdom or State, that did ever yet judicially depose or bring to execution, any of their Kings and Princes, though never so bad, whether Protestants or Papists; and the Protestants in *France*, though some of their Kings, when they had invested them in their Thrones, became Apostates to Popery and persecuters of their people; albeit they resisted them by force of arms in the field to preserve their lives; did never once attempt to pull them from their Thrones, or bring their persons unto Justice: And I hope our Protestant Parliament will never make the first president in this kind, nor stain their Honor or Religion with the blood of a Protestant King, against so many Oathes, Protestations, Covenants, Declarations, and Remonstrances made and published by them to the contrary.

10. For the presidents of *Edward* the Second, and *Richard* the Second in times of Popery, they were rather forcible resignations by power of an Army, then judiciall deprivations, neither of them being ever legally arraigned and brought to tryall in Parliament. And *Mortimer* who had the chief hand in deposing King *Edward* the Second, in the Parliament of 1 E. 3. was in the Parliament of 4 E. 3. impeached.

impeached, condemned, and executed as a Traitor, and guilty of high Treason, for murdering *Edward* the second after he was deposed, at *Berkley-castle*, and *Sir Simon Bereford*, (together with *Thomas Gurney* and *William Ocle*) were adjudged Traitors for assisting him therein; one of them executed, and great rewards promised to the apprehenders of the other two. And as for *Richard* the second though he was deposed after *Henry* the Fourth was crowned by pre-
 tence in Parliament; yet this deposition after his resignation only, not before it: and without any formall tryall or arraignment, or any capitall judgement of death against him; for which I find no president in any Parliament of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, nor yet in *Denmark* it self, though an elective Kingdome; who, though they justly deposed *Christiern* the second, for his most abominable Tyrannies and Cruelties, yet they never adjudged, or put him to death, but only restrained him as a prisoner. I shall only add this, that though the elective Kingdoms of *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, have in their Parliaments and Diets deposed sundry of their Kings for their wickednesses and tyranny, yet they never judicially condemned any one of them to death, though Papists, And for a Protestant Parliament (to please an Army only, acted by Jesuites in this particular; to render both Parliament, Army, and our Religion too for ever execrable throughout the world; and set all mens pens and hands against them to their ruine) to begin such a bloody president as this, upon a most false pretext, of settling peace; contrary to the express command of God himself; who commands Christians *To pray for Kings, and all in authority, that they may live a quiet and peaceable life under them in all godlinesse and honesty*, (not to depose or cut off their heads; as the only way to peace and settlement; will not only be scandalous but monstrous.

The next thing they propose for a present peace and settlement; is the executing of the Prince if hee come not over upon summons at a short day, and give not satisfaction to the Houses: or else to declare him and the Duke of York, if they appear not upon summons, to be incapable of any Trust or Government in this Kingdom, or any Dominions therunto belonging, and thence to stand exiled for ever as Enemies and Traitors, to die without mercy, if ever taken or found therein. A Jesuiticall inevitable way to civill Wars and ruine. For the King being deposed and cut off; the Prince no doubt is next heir to the Crown, both by the common Law, and the statute of 1. *Jacobi* cap. 1. to which I doubt

doubt a Vote or Ordinance of both Houses only, will be no such legall barre in any Lawyers or Wisemens Judgement, but that hee will claim his right; and the generallity of the Kingdome (at least ten thousand to one proclaim and embrace him for their lawfull King, and assist him with their lives and fortunes, both to regain and retain his right, being bound by their Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance, and their Solemn League and Covenant so to do. And must not this of necessity beget a present lasting War; in stead of a speedy settled peace? undoubtedly it will. But consider further, that the Prince is not only Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*, but of *Scotland* and *Ireland* too : and though we reject; yet undoubtedly *Scotland* and *Ireland* will readily inbrace him as their lawfull King, notwithstanding any Votes of ours; and will both unanimously assist him with their lives and fortunes to recover his right to the Crown of *England*; and those two Kingdoms falling off wholly from us, and proclaiming Warre against us, and joining with that potent party here, which certainly will appear in his behalfe, out of a naturall inclination to the right undoubted Heir, or hopes of favour and preferment (since *Plures solum orientem quam occidentem adorantur*) and with all his friends and allies Forces from abroad; whether this wil not be an unavoidable occasion, not only of a present war, but of certain destructions and desolation to this poor Kingdome, and more especially to the Army and their adherents in this desperate advice, (who must stand or fall upon their own bottome, without the least aid or contribution from any other,) I desire them, and all others who have either eyes or brains in their heads most seriously to consider. But that which makes me most of all detest this desperate advice, is this, That it is the only way that can be thought upon to accomplish the Popes and Jesuites designs, to set up Popery, and subvert the Protestant Religion, and professors of it in all our three Kingdoms, and in all forraign Realms beyond the Seas. For if this reforming Parliament, which hath pretended so much to the extirpation of Popery, shall so far play the Popes and Jesuites (the undoubted contrivers of this *Armys New-model* of our peace and settlement) as to depose and behead the King his father, and forever disinherit him of the Crown, & bring him as a Traitor to die without mercy, if he come hither: It wil so far provoke and exasperate him & the Duke, being both young and of generous spirits, not throughly grounded in our Religion; and under the Queens tuition, and in the power of
this

this popish party abroad, who will aggravate these high affronts and injuries put upon them to the utmost, and on whose protection they will be in this case necessitated to cast themselves; that there is great fear and probability, they will immediately renounce such a bloody and detestable Religion, as shall infligate us to such horrid actions and Councils, and abominate all the professors of it, so as totally to abandon them, and turn Roman Catholicks in good earnest; and then match themselves to great potent popish Alliances: and by their purses, forces, and assistance; and of the Popes, and all his Catholick sonnes in Forraigne parts for the advancement of the Catholick cause; and of the popish, Malignants, and discontented parties in *England, Scotland, and Ireland* (which will questionlesse receive and assist the Prince as their Sovereign Lord and King) invade our poore, impoverished, divided and distressed kingdom with such a power, as in all humane probability would speedily overrunne and destroy this mutinous Army, and the Houses too, put them with their adherents to the Sword, without mercy or quarter, and disinherit them and their heirs for ever, to revenge their Fathers blood, and their dis-inherison of the Crown, &c. And then Popery and Prelacy will both return with greater authority, power, & approbation then ever; overspread our whole three kingdoms, and extirpate our Religion, & the professors of it, as the most anti-Monarchical, treacherous and perfidious bloody Miscreants under heaven; & excite all other forraign States and kingdoms to do the like to prevent the springing up of a new generation of treacherous King-killing, *State-subverting Agitators*, and Hypocritical & perfidious *Army-Saints*; and engage all Protestant kingdoms, Churches, and States, for their own security and vindication to disclaim and declare against us.

This questionlesse will be the sad inevitable issue of this Jesuiticall advice if ever the Houses or Army shall put it into actual execution, and not speedily prevent it; it being long since fore-plotted by the *Jesuites*, as I shall prove anon, at the beginning of the late Warre against the Scots.

But if the Prince and Duke be set aside; I would gladly learn of these Statists, who, and what King they would set up? Not any of the Kings posterity certainly, since they disinherit two at a blow; and the blood being corrupted by the Kings and their attainders, no other heir can inherit it by descent; it must escheat to the Houses or Armies disposal, and become no kingdom at all but an Elective

one, if any: And is this the next way to peace and settlement? If so, I have certainly lost my reason and senses too. No; it will be a seminary of lasting Wars; of which few elective Kingdoms are long free, every new election producing commonly a new Warre, where there is no pretence of an hereditary succession, much more where a right heir is forcibly and unjustly dis-inherited: I shall give you but one instance, (though I could name you divers) and that is a memorable one at home in our owne kingdom.

**Mar. Paris, Speed, Daniel in the life of King Stephen.*

King Henry the first, having one onely daughter **Maud*, to reserve the Crown unto her after his death, caused her to be crowned, and made all the Prelates and Nobles swear to receive her as their Queen and Princessse after his decease. But she marrying afterwards to the Emperour; and being out of the Realme when King Henry died: The Archbishop of *Canterbury* with the rest of the Prelates and Nobles (contrary to their Oath and agreement) elected *Stephen* Earle of *Blois* for their King, and put by *Maud* the right heir; *Stephen* taking an Oath to grant and confirm those Laws and Liberties for the kingdoms peace and settlement, as they propounded to him before his Coronation: A very likely means to settle Peace and prosperity as they imagined. But was the event answerable? No verily; this cursed perjury and pollicy brought all the chiefe contrivers of it to great calamity and miserable ends; and engendred a bloody civill Warre in the bowels of this kingdom, which continued no lesse then seventeene years together, with interchangeable successses; till the whole kingdom was laid waste and desolate, most Houses, Towns, and Villages burned to the ground; their Gardens and Orchards quite destroyed, their monies and estates exhausted and plundered; their Cattle and flocks consumed and eaten up, their Fields over grown with weeds in stead of Corne, most of the people devoured by the Sword, Famine and Pestilence, and eleven hundred Castles, Holds, and Garrisons erected; which were no other but dens of Thieves and Plunderers. This was the peace and settlement this policy produced. At last both Parties weary of the Wars, out of pure necessity, came to a Personall Treaty, and in conclusion, made this agreement, That *Stephen* having no issue of his body, should enjoy the Crowne during his life; and *Henry*, son and heir to *Maud*, and next heir also to *Stephen*, should succeed him, after his death, and in some sort officiate with him in the kingdoms Government during his life. And so these long lasting Warres concluded;

ded; after which there were at least eleven hundred Castles demolished by order of Parliament erected during these wars, to the Countreys utter undoing. But if we dis-inherit the Prince and Duke, for ought I discern, if they suddainly recover not their possession of the Crown of England, after one seven years of Warre already elapsed, we may have seventeen years more, and seventeen after that again, and be reduced to a more miserable condition then our Ancestors were in King Stephens dayes: And that upon these two grounds. First, the contest then, was onely between two Competitors for this one kingdom, who had no other kingdoms of their own to side with them. But the Prince and Duke being successively heirs as well to the Crowns of Scotland and Ireland, as England; will have their aid and assistance, and of their forraign Friends too, to carry on the wars, till they have got possession of the Crowne of England, upon better terms then ever they are like to enjoy it, if we accept of the K. Concessions, which we can never expect from them, if we depose and kil the King, and dis-inherit & banish them for Traitors. Secondly, Stephen the actuall King then had no issue at all, and Henry was next heir to the Crown, both to Maud and him, so as both Titles meeting in him, the controversie and wars must needs cease. But if we shall now set up a new King by Election, either of the Kings line or otherwise; as long as there is either an Elective King, or hereditary, to exclude this Prince or Duke, or either of their heirs to whom the inheritance of the Crown belongs of right, we can neither hope for, nor expect either peace or settlement in this kingdom, as the bloody and long lived wars between the two Houses of Lancaster and York will inform us, which never ended till they were both united in King Henry the seventh.

The Armies next proposall to settle the kingdoms peace, is as bad as any of the former; to wit, ** the speedy dissolving of this present Parliament*: which if not presently consented to, for ought I discern by their last Declaration, they are resolved to dissolve it by open violence on the Houses, which they threaten. A Tempest (certainly) of the Jesuites raising, to blow down this Parliament, as they would have blown up that of 3 Jacobi with Gun-powder. But is this a way to safety and settlement; to dissolve the onely visible meanes of both? If the King, Prince, Duke, Parliament be all dissolved, and quite laid aside, what meanes or hopes at all of peace, of safety, of settlement, can any man in his right senses rationally see or imagine?

* Remon:
Nov. 20.
1648. pag:
65, 66, 68,
69, 70

Is the overturning of the very Foundations and Pillars of our Church and Kingdom, the best and safest way to settle and preserve them? Is it not the onely certain way to subvert and ruine them? Such wayes of peace and settlement as these are fitter for Bedlam, then a *Parliament house*.

Yea, but they have one infallible way more (to which all the rest are but preparatory) to settle peace and safety in our Kingdoms, which they idolize, almost, to wit, * *A new Representative*, or * *Remonstr.* *mock-Parliament*, to be immediately subscribed to and set up in post
 pa 14, 1 E.
 16, 66, 67.
 haste, constituted neither of King, nor Lords, (the brats of Tyranny and the Norman Conquest, as some of themselves pretend, as this Representative is of the Armies,) nor yet of Knights, Citizens and Burgeses duly elected, but of a selected company of *politick Mechanicks*, *pragmaticall Levellers*, and *Statesmen of the General Council of the Army*, (as they stile themselves, by what Commissiion I know not) who have usurped the whole Power both of King, *Parliament*, *Assembly*, and all *Courts of Justice* before their Representative be settled, as a true pattern of it, which they are to imitate. A meer *Whimsicall Utopia* and *Babel of confusion*, invented by the *Jesuites* to please the vulgar rabble, and stir them up to mutinies against King, Lords, *Commons*, *Gentlemen*, and their *Superiours* of all ranks, that they alone may possesse and sway the reins of Government, Magistracy and Ministry, to which they have now prepared their tumultuous spirits. Much * might be said against it; but I shall contract my self, because nothing can be so much as probably pretended for it.

* See Mr. Ashursts reason against it.

First, It is a new Jesuiticall, popish Gunpowder Treason with a witness, which blowes up and destroyes at once the King, Prince, Duke, Lords, Knights of Shires, Citizens, Burgeses, this present and all future Parliaments, and noblest, ancientest Cities and Boroughs of *England*. It not this a blessed invention to settle peace and safety?

Secondly, It blows up both our Magistracy, Ministry, Laws, Liberties, Judges and Courts of Justice at one crack, and breaks them all in pieces, to raise up this new *Babel* out of all their ruines. And is not this a blessed new invention of Jesuites and Saints to settle peace?

Thirdly, It blows up all our Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance; Protestations, solemn Leagues and Covenants, all former numerous Declarations, Remonstrances, Votes and Resolutions of one or both Houses of Parliament, * *not to alter the present form of Government by King, Lords, Commons and other ordinary Magistrates and ministers*

* A Col
 lecti. &c.
 p 25, 698
 700, 877,
 878:

of

of publick Justice, or les to use the golden veint of government to Blasphemies, Heresies, Errors, Libertinisme, Prophaneesse, Schisme, & all sorts of Religions. It unsettles all things, to settle that which is worse then nothing. And is this the way to safety, tranquillity or settlement?

Fourthly, it enforceth a^{*} Subscription more unjust, unreasonable, * Remon. illegall, tyrannicall and penall then ever the Bishops or Pope invented: p. 64. 66. And Agreement of mens ancient Rights, Liberties, priviledges of election without consent of the People, or title, into the hands of those who never had a right unto them, formerly Printed, the people; who are no Free-holders, no Free-Burgeses, free-Citizens, or men and of late capable of Votes by Law: and these people no other then the Army new modelled themselves and some of their levelling Confederates: who must possess, judge, rule, usurp the Rights and Priviledges of the whole Kingdome, in point of electing Parliament Members, without Charter or Title: A cursed Monopoly, which will discontent all men who are thus injuriously deprived of their Rights, and produce nought else but infinite animosities, factions, frictions and tumults throughout the Kingdome, and discontent all wise, all honest men; who will rather die, then not oppose it unto death, as carrying the death and funeral of a peace, settlement, Parliaments, & the Kingdome in its bowels. And is this a fit tool to pece and unite our shattred Kingdome, and settle peace amongst us?

Fifthly, If no way extends to Ireland or our Islands, but to England onely; it will require many years time and triall to settle and secure its own being, priviledge & power, and gain any general obedience to its new erected Sovereignty: so that our Church and State will be sunk and drowned, and Ireland inevitably lost, before this Ark will or can be prepared for their safety.

Sixthly, This New Representative in this new Remonstrance is (in terminis) nought else, but the very Agreement of the people, presented to the House by the Agitators, accompanied with some Jesuites, on the 9. of Novemb. 1647. (then and in that very month twice, by two expresse Votes upon solemn debate, and an Ordinance of both Houses in December following; resolved, to be destructive to the being of Parliaments, and to the fundamentall Government of the Kingdome; and a signall brand of disability and imprisonment imposed on the contrivers and preservers of it; and then condemned by the Generall and

his Councell of Warre, who shot one White to death for abetting it, of which more a non.) Therefore it seems a miracle to me, that they should be now so virtiginous, rash, and audacious as to tender this to the House againe with such *post-hast* and violence, as the readiest, safest, and speediest course to settle peace and safety, and set aside the onely meanes of settlement, the *Treaty*. O the inconstancy and strange intoxications of these new *Saints* and *Statists*, who would make the Houses as unconstant as themselves!

Since then I have clearly manifested, that all these Proposals of peace and settlement in the Army's late *Remonstrance*, are all and every of them most apparent precipices, Jesuiticall contrivances and labyrinthes of speedy, imminent, unavoidable ruine and confusion to our King, Prince, Kingdomes, Magistracy, Ministry, Church, Religion, Lawes, Liberties, Government, the present and all succeeding Parliaments, and the Army too; it must needs be the very extremity of madnesse to let go that speedy, safe and sure way to certain peace, security and settlement I have propounded, by accepting of the Kings Concessions, to catch at such a false deceitfull shadow of settlement as this, which will engulfe us in endlesse wars and miseries. It is a Rule in Policy and Divinity, *Ex duobus malis minimum eligendum*. But of these, one being a most certain destructive evill, and the other a certaine good and advantage of the highest nature, it can admit of no deliberation, which of them to embrace: And so much the rather, if we sadly consider of our deplorable & almost desperate condition both at home and abroad, pertinent to the point in hand.

We are all weary of a long and costly Warre (and yet God hath so insatuated many, that though in words they desire, yet in deeds they reject alwayes of Peace, and cast them out of their hands when put into them; as if they delighted to have our Warres spun out (like *Amaleck's*) from generation to generation. Wee are unable any longer to maintain a Warre, and yet are unwilling to give it over. But I beseech you now seriously to consider into what great straights and difficulties you are already brought, and how the true state of your Affairs stands in relation to your Forces and Friends, both at home and abroad.

There are many thousands of *Reformadoes* who have formerly served you in your Warres, who lie dayly clamouring at your doores for Arrears, complaining they are ready to starve, and some of them to rot in prison, desiring but some inconsiderable Summe to satisfie their present necessities, and you returne them answer, you are unable

able to raise it; and after many debates upon their generall Ordinance, you cannot in diverse months pick upon any probable meanes to secure their Arreares, amounting (as is conceived) to above two hundred thousand pounds. The Arreares alledged to be due to the Army (who now take free quarter, and eat up the Countries where they lye) amount to above three hundred thousand pounds: and how to raise money to discharge this debt, or so much as to disband the supernumeraries, and reduce the Army into their Winter Quarters, hath put you to a stand for many weeks, and as yet you know not how to doe it: So as free quarter must still continue to ruine us on the one hand, and your debts and arrears be dayly multiplied to undoe us on the other hand. Your Navie is now coming in to harbors, and your Mariners expect a present considerable Sum, amounting to many thousands, to pay them off; and you have not yet one peny in your Treasury to satisfie their arrears, and can pitch upon no way to raise any present monies but onely by the *Earle of Arundels Composition*; amounting in all but to six thousand pounds, and the moiety of it not to be paid till three months end at least. What your other debts of the Navy are, and how many thousand pounds you owe to Mariners, Masters, and Tradesmen, the Committee of the Navie can best informe you. Your debts to your Artificers, Waggoners, and such who have advanced monies upon the Publick Faith, amount to two or three Millions at least: Besides, your debts to *Plimouth* and other Garrisons are so great, that they are all ready to mutiny and disband for want of pay. Your Debts to the Souldiers and Officers in *Ireland* are vast; and if speedy and large supplies of Men, Provision and Monies arrive not there within one month, Colonell *Jones*, and your other Officers there professe, the whole Kingdome will be utterly lost: and you (for ought I finde) have no possible means to supply them with either.

If then your Debts are already so great, to *Reformadoes*, Tradesmen, the Army, Navie, Garrisons, and those who have lent you Monies, that you know not how to satisfie any one of them: If you have not money to pay your Army or Navie at the present, nor to maintaine them for the future why doe you now refuse that Peace which is tendered you upon such great advantages, and chuse a Warre which you know not how to maintaine, and must needs break yours and the Kingdoms backs in few months more? Your credits are quite lost and broken in all places, in City, Country, and the Houses too; You cannot now borrow ten thousand pounds (for ought

ought I know) upon any suddain occasion, were it to serve the Kingdome: Your breaches of Faith and security heretofore, and clashes with the City, have made you almost Bankrupts, if not altogether. *Gold-smiths Hall*, the *Excise*, *Cambridge House* and *Custom-house* are already charged with more Debts then are likely to be paid in many yeares: Compositions are almost at a stand or end: Sequestrations generally disposed of to each particular County, or other uses: Bishops Lands engaged for farre more then they are really worth: You have nothing of your owne or the Publick's left to raise either present monies, or credit whereon to borrow them: Besides, the City, Country, and whole Kingdome are now quite exhausted, and almost as poore as naked *Job* was. Many Counties of the Kingdome are so impoverished and exhausted with the last Warres, (especially the foure Northern Shires next to *Scotland*) that (as their *Knights* and *Burgesses* assure you) they are so farre unable to pay any Taxes, that they already starve and perish in most places for want of food, and are petitioners to you for some reparation towards their great losses, and present support to keep them from starving. The rich Associated Counties have beene harressed and undone by the last Summers Warres, that they are growne poore, unable to lend or contribute to you any more force or assistance: The excessive dearth of corn and provisions the last yeer, the great destruction of corn by unseasonable weather this present yeer, which makes that which is wholesome exceeding dear; The extraordinary rot among sheep, and murraine among cattle (which should raise monies) in all Counties; the generall scarcity and decay of Trade by Land, of Merchandize by sea, and apparent probability of their decaying every day more and more, by reason of the revolted Ships and Irish Men-of-warre; and the Sequestrations of the Malignant, and plunderings and losses of the wel-affected Nobility and Gentry have so impoverished all sorts of men, (but the Souldier and Army, and some few Treasurers and Officers,) that they know not how to live or subsist almost, much lesse to lend or contribute to maintaine such a numerous Army by Land and Sea, and supply *Ireland*s pressing necessities. If you cannot tell how to pay your present Debts, what folly is it to augment them for the future? If you cannot pay your Army or Navie now, how will you be able to do it hereafter?

If then you will have no peace with the King upon the Treaty, but break it off, and keep up a Warre and Army still without colour

Iour or reason in this your impoverished and exhausted condition, then mark the consequences: Your Forces being not duly paid, will live upon free-quarter still, and that will undoe the Country, & make them desperate: And when they have eaten out all the poor, then they will mutiny, and fall on all that are rich, put them to present Fines and Ransoms at their pleasure, eat them out of House and home, share their Estates and Offices, which many of them already professe to be theirs by Conquest; and then the longest sword will be the only true Judge and measure of all mens properties, and divider of their Estates, as well in this as former ages; of which we already begin to feel some sad experiments. And as the Souldier on the one hand, so the penurious poor people in every place, for want of work and imployment, and bread to put into their head, encouraged by the Souldiers uncontrolled insolencies, will fall to plunder and levell all rich men on the other side. And if the Army *Remonstrance and Agreement of the People* (now in hot pursuit) take place, Ministers shall receive no Tythes, Landlords no Rents, Creditors no Debts, and oppressed ruined persons no Law nor Justice. Kings must go down, Princes and Peers quite down, Parliaments down, Judges, Justices, Magistrates, Laws, Tenures, Inclosures down, all rich and landed persons down; their very wealth and estates will be sufficient cause to make them Malignants to a starved Peasantry and al-conquering unpaid Army; and then what follows but immediate and irrecoverable ruine? I beseech you therefore consider in what a desperate, hazardous condition we and the whole Kingdom now stand at present; how neer we and *Ireland* are to the very brink of ruine. If we will now put into that safe and sure harbour of Peace which the present Treaty invites us into, without any further cost, or fear of shipwrack, we may yet through Gods blessing be safe and happy: But if we now wilfully put forth to Sea again, among so many rocks, shelves & quick sands which surround us on every side, and will yet chuse War instead of Peace when the golden and silver nerves that formerly maintained it are quite shrunke up, we can expect nought else but drowning, & sudden shipwrack of all our Kingdoms, Parliaments, Liberties, Estates, and of our Church and Religion too.

Yea, But (say some) though all this be truth, we must not displease the Army, who are our present strength and safety; for then we are lost indeed. Object.

I have answered this Objection once before in one sense, in relation to the *Treaties satisfactorinesse*; I shall here answer it in another: I say then,

1. That we have a God to please, who will be displeased, if we please the Army in their unjust demands: And better is it to please God, then to please any Army whatsoever: *If God be with us, who can be against us?* We need no Armies protections, if the Lord of Hosts be our Guardian.

2. We have a conscience to please, as well as an Army; and we must satisfy that, though the Army, (who pretend so much for *liberty of conscience*, yet will allow us none, or very little) be never so unsatisfied with it.

3. We have a Kingdom, nay three Kingdoms to please, and to save too: And we must rather please and save them, by rejecting the Armies Proposals, which will inevitably ruine them, then please the Army in being any way instrumentall for their destruction, by embracing their destructive counsels: If our Kingdoms be preserved, we may have another Army, though this be disbanded, dissolved, yea destroyed; but if the Kingdoms perish by our pursuing their rash Proposals, we shall neither have Kingdoms: nor yet an Army, nor this Army, who must certainly perish in and with the Kingdoms ruine.

4. We have a *Navie* to please as well as an Army; and which is more considerable to us then an Army: A new Army may soon be raised, though the old be disbanded; but a Navie being once lost, Ships will not grow again, nor another Navie built in many years: And will not the pleasing of the Army in this, displease and lose the Navy now, as it did the last Summer, to your great losse and danger? And can the Army guard the Kingdom against any Foreign Invasions if the Navy be lost? No nor treble their number: Look then you please your Navy as well as Army.

5. We have many *hundred thousands* of well affected and cordiall Christians and Covenanters to please, who have adventured their estates, lives, limbs, in the present Cause, and done as gallant Services (many of them) in the Field, both this last Summer and before, as any in this Army, and are considerable for number, quality, estate, wisdom, parts, and reall piety and love to the publick Interest, then the Army: all which (I am certain) we shall highly discontent, and grieve, nay palpably over-reach and cheat to their very fa-

* See the Remonstrance of the Northern Associations, printed 1647. The humble Petition, serious Suggestions, &c. of the Gentlemen, Yeomen and Freeholders of the Eastern Association.

ces, if we should please the Army in their present demands, to their prejudices, and scandall, and our Religions too. There was no man of publick Spirit that engaged with, contributed towards, or took up Arms in the Parliaments service or Cause at first, but meerly upon these five grounds, expressed in all the Houses Remonstrances, Declarations, Petitions, Protestations, and in the Solemn League and Covenant: 1. To defend and maintain the true Protestant Religion, against Popery, Error, and Superstition. 2. To defend the Kings Royall Person, Dignity, and legall Authority, against violence, treachery, and usurpation. 3. To maintain the Priviledges, Rights and Freedom of Parliaments, and the Fundamentall Laws and Government of the Kingdom, against State-Innovations, and Tyranny. Fourthly, to rescue the Kings person from evill Counsellors; and bring such Incendiaries and Delinquents to condign punishment. Fifthly, to settle the Kingdom in freedom, safety, and peace, against Crueltie, Dangers, and imminent Wars and tumults.

Upon these grounds, and for these ends only, did both Houses, and all who adhered to them, or took up Arms for them, by their Commissions, engage, and so did this * very Army. I appeal then to every mans Conscience, Whether the Houses, or any who engaged with them, did ever contribute any Moneys, Plate, Horse, Atms, or march out as an Officer or Souldier under them in these Wars, with any such intention as this, to depose and bring the King to Justice; disinherite the Princes, and Kings posterity; dissolve the present Parliament, and pull all future Parliaments, and their Priviledges up by the roots, subvert the Fundamentall Government of the Realm, and set up a new representative to dash all these in pieces, and destroy Religion, Magistracy and Ministry? Did they not all abhor and disclaim in Publique all such thoughts and intention as these? and when objected by the King and his party out of jealousy and fear; did not the * Houses presently resent and remonstrate against it as the grossest scandall, and their adherents too? Or would ever a man have engaged with the Houses, or the Houses with them in this War, or enrolled his name even in this New Model'd Army, had he been told at first, That he must fight to depose and bring the King to execution, to disinherite his posterity, dissolve this Parliament, and the very Rights, Priviledges, and being of all future Parliaments, to set up a new Government and representative in our Church and State, to alter and change all things at their fancies,

* A Collection, pag. 599. 623.

* Exact Collection. on, p. 298. 657. 658. 695. 696. A Collection, p. 117.

and to break every clauses and article of the Solemn League & Covenant? If not one of these was the true end of our Wars and Engagement against the King at first, and all along till now, but the clean contrary to them; then how can they now be propounded as the only fruits of our wars, and means or conditions of our Peace and Settlement? Will they not all say, (if the Houses or Army proceed in their Proposals for Peace and Settlement, mentioned in their last Remonstrance) that they engaged and took up Arms to doe quite contrary to what they now propose to the Houses, and endeavour to enforce them to put it in punctuall execution? And will they not now say, That they are by their originall Engagement and Covenants obliged with their lives and estates to oppose and oppugn the Army in all these particulars; that having thus declared and resolved, they cannot pray for, but against the Armies late successes herein; that they cannot henceforth contribute towards their future pay and support in point of conscience or prudence, but must withdraw and withhold their contributions, and resist them to their Faces, declare their Commissions null, and not look on, or take them as an Army, but as a tumultuous rout of persons, assembled without Commission, to act over *Jack Cades* Treasons again, and quite pull down that frame of Government and Order which they have been building up and supporting these many years, with such vast expence of Treasure and bloud? Better then displease the ARMY, then that all these Covenanters and Engagers should suffer, to theirs, the three Kingdoms hazard, *Ireland's* certain losse, and this very Armies overthrow, which these Jesuiticall designs will certainly destroy in a very short space, if they *Jehu-like*, drive on so furiously in prosecution and execution of them, as they have done of late.

Consider I beseech you of the desperatenesse and excessive unavoidable destructivenessse of these monstrous wayes to the speedy peace and settlement of our Church and State, and of the safety and security of the things your selves have pitched on for Peace and Settlement in and by the Treaty; and Lord guide our Hearts and Votes aright therein, that we choose not death in stead of life; the wayes of misery and destruction in stead of the way of Peace, which Armies seldom know, or prescribe to themselves or others.

Mr. Speaker

Mr. Speaker,

HAVING thus demonstrated to you the unavoydable destructiveness and confusion of those Counsels, and pretended wayes of settlement which the Officers of the Army have propounded, and would imperiously and forcibly thrust you upon to the Kings, Kingdomes, Parliaments, Religions, their own, our and Irelands certain and most speedy ruine; I must now crave leave with much sadness of heart to unboosome my very soul unto you, and discover you that secret which God hath so clearly manifested to my understanding, that I dare not (under the highest penalty) but acquaint you with; That the Jesuites, and Roman Priests and Catholicks are the originall contrivers and principall fomenters of the late and present distempers, and undutifull mutinous proceedings and counsels of the Officers and Army, and chief contrivers of the new *Babel*, or model of confusion which they have tendred to you in their late Remonstrance as the only way to peace and settlement. And if I shall clearly demonstrate this unto the House, I hope every Member present, and the whole Army and Kingdome, when they know it, will eternally abhor and renounce it, and never henceforth countenance or promote this Jesuiticall and Romish designe: which I am perswaded the Generall, and most of the Officers and Souldiers in the Army, in the simplicity of their hearts (with honest and publick intentions of Justice and common Freedom) have been ignorantly drawn into, by over-reaching pates and Machiavilian Policies of these cunning *Jesuites*, who can metamorphose themselves into any shapes, and invisibly insinuate themselves into their counsels and actings, to promote their own interest and our destruction.

I do not profess my self to be any great Statesman, or exactly to know what ever is secretly transacted among us: But this I can say, without disparagement to others, or
vain-

vain-glory to my self, That I have for many years last past been as curious an observer of all the great transactions of Affairs in Church or State, and of the instruments and means by which they have been covertly contrived and carried on, as any man in this House or Kingdom: and that God hath honoured me in being one of the first discoverers and opposers of the Jesuites and Papists plots to undermine our Religion, and usher in Popery by degrees into our Church, by making use of our Popish and Arminian Prelates and Clergy-men as their Instruments; and broaching one Arminian and Popish Doctrine and introducing one Popish Superstition and Innovation after another; of which I have given this House and the Kingdom the fullest and clearest discoveries of any man; and likewise of introducing Tyranny, Arbitrary power and civill combustions in our State, of which I likewise made seasonable discoveries and opposition, the ground of all my sufferings, close imprisonment and banishment, to prevent the like detections and oppositions. And since my return from exile, I have in my *ROME'S MASTER-PIECE, The ROYALL POPISH FAVOURITE, HIDDEN WORKS OF DARKNESSE BROUGHT TO PUBLICK LIGHT, The ANTI-PATHY OF ENGLISH PRELACY TO UNITY and MONARCHY, and The HISTORY OF THE ARCH-BISHOP OF CANTERBURY'S TRYALL,* and other Writings, given the World such an exact account of the Jesuites and Papists plots and influences upon our Church, State, Court, Councils, Prelates, corrupt Clergy, and all sorts of people to reduce us back to Rome, supplant Religion, subvert Parliaments, set up tyranny and involve us in civill Wars both in *England, Scotland, and Ireland,* (concealed from most, and scarce known to any before these discoveries) as none else before or since mee have done; all which both Houses have since approved and made use of in severall *Declarations and Remonstrances.* And therefore I may with greater confidence and better grounds adventure on this discovery, of which most here present (who are

are little acquainted with mysteries of State or Politicks, and trouble not their heads with such inquiries after them as I have done) are utterly ignorant, and so apt to be deluded, and easily over-reached; the plainest open-hearted men being easiest to be over-witted by Jesuites and their Instruments; especially when they transform themselves into Angels of Light, or become *new lights*, to broach new *strange opinions*; or revive old errors under the notion of *New-light*; as they have lately done, to lead captive silly people.

To make out this discovery so clearly evident that none can rationally deny, but be sufficiently convinced of its truth, I must minde you of these particulars of undoubted truth and certainty which this House and the House of Lords have joyntly and severally published and remonstrated to the whole Kingdom, King, and World in severall Declarations and Remonstrances, and other printed papers.

1. That the *Jesuites*, and other *Engineeres* and *Factors* * This is in terminis asserted by the Commons in their Petition to the King at Hampton Court, And Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, presented with it 15. Dec. 1641. Exact Collected. * page 1 to 20 for Rome, for the alteration of Religion, the setting up of *Papery* and *Tyranny* in this Kingdom, and subversion of the *fundamentall Lawes* and Government of it; did long before the beginning of this Parliament, compose and set up a corrupt, malignant, ill-affected party, consisting of corrupt *Bishops* and *Clergy-men*, some great *Officers* and *Counsellours* of State and others of trust and neernesse about the King, his Children and Court, to carry on these their designs, who were acted by their subtile practises: and that by this means these *Jesuites* and *Romish Engineeres* had a very powerfull operation upon his Majesties Counsellors, and the most important Affaires and proceedings of his Government both in Church and State.

2. That the most dangerous divisions, preparations and Armies to make a War between England and Scotland, were made and carried on by the practise and counsel of the *Jesuites*, *Papists*, and their Confederates, many *Scottish Jesuites* being sent from London into Scotland to foment the divisions there; and a Generall Convention of all the principall
Roman

Roman Catholicks in this Kingdom, and of sundry Priests and Jesuites (whereof Con the Popes Nuncio was President) being held in London; wherein great Sums of money were granted towards the raising of the Army against the Scots, & Treasurers and Collectors appointed by them in every County; and Popish Commanders sent for over and imployed in that Service, as was apparently proved before a Committee, and reported to this House soon after the beginning of this Parliament, as your own Journal manifests. And it further appears by one who was privy to that plot, sent from Rome as an assistant to Con; who out of conscience revealed all the secrets of it to *Andreas ab Habernfeld* (Physitian to the Queen of Bohemia at the Hague) under an Oath of secrecy, and he to Sir *William Boswel* and the King, the Originals whereof are in my custody, and published by me (at your appointment) in my * *Romes Master-Piece*,) that the end of the Scottish Wars was to engage the King to cast himself wholly on the Papists and their party, (the Puritans and Protestant party being averse to this War, and inclining to the Scots, who would not engage to assist him, unless he would condition with them, to grant an universall toleration of Popery, and free exercise of that Religion to the Papists, if their party prevailed: To which if he should shew himself unwilling or averse, then they would presently dispatch him out of the way, and poison him with an Indian nut, which they had prepared (kept in Con's custody) as they had poisoned his Father King *James*: And the Prince being next Heir to the Crown, educated neer his Mother, accustomed to the Popish party, and easie to be perverted in his Religion, being but young and under age, they would get him into their power, educate him in their Religion, and match him to a Papist; & so all their work accomplished, Popery set up, & the Protestants and their Religion soon extirpated both in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. In which discovery he further relates, that there were under the command of Cardinal *Barbarino* the Popes Nephew, protector of the English Catholicks, and Con his Nuncio resident in London, four severall Orders of Jesuites most active in these designs and wars, & disturbers of Christian kingdoms.

The

* See Rome's
Masters-piece.
p. 13. to 26.

Nota.

The first, *Ecclesiasticks*, whose office it is to take care of things promoting Religion. The second politicians, whose employment it is, by any meanes whatsoever to shake, trouble, reforme, and alter the state of Kingdoms and Republiks. The third *Seculars*, whose property it is, to intrude themselves into offices & places about Kings and Princes; and to insinuate and thrust themselves into civill affaires, bargains, contracts, and such like civill businesse. The fourth, *Spyes* or *Intelligencers*, men of inferior condition, who submit and become household servants to Princes, Barons, Noblemen, Great men, Gentlemen, Citizens, and others of all professions, to discover their minds, and make use of them to promote their designs. That these Jesuites usually met at one Captaine Reads (a Scotch-man, a Souldier and Lay Jesuit, living in Long Acre) in the habits Gentlemen-Souldiers, and Laymen: and many of them followed the Camp as Souldiers in those intended Wars. That there were neere as many of all these severall Sorts of Jesuits residing and lurking privily in and about London, in September 1640. (where were then above 50 Scottish Jesuits as were in al Spain, France & Italy; who have ever since been promoting the same designs and deviations among us all these Wars, as that which followes will demonstrate. 3dly. That the dissolving and breaking up al the Parliaments in this Kings Reigne in discontent, proceeded from the counsels, and practises of the Jesuits and their Popish confederats to disaffect the King against them, and prevent the calling of Parliaments for the future, the principall obstacle to prevent and counter-worke all their designs, to promote Popry, and subvert our Religion laws, and Government.

4thly. That the Jesuits, Popish Priests, Papists and their Confederats ever since this Parliament, have by pollicy & power endeavoured to dissolve, and put an end to this present Parliament, as the onely basis and support of our Religion and Libertie, the onely Bulwarke betweene us and Tyranny, Popery and superstition, ready to over-run the three Kingdomes, the dissolution whereof would not onely deprive us and our posterities of the present, but of the hopes and capacity of any future Parliament: and that they have indefatigably used and left no means unattempted to dissolve this Parliament: the continuance and close whereof with the King in a happy Peace & settelment, would frustrate all their hopes and Popish designs; as the Lords & Commons both have most fully

Exact collections,
p. 1. to 20.
195 to
230. 265.
&c 661.
to 666.
907, &c.

declared

declared in their Remonstrance of May, 19. and 26. 1642. in their Declaration of March, 23. 1643. in their propositions of Feb. 1. 1642. and May, 11. 1642. and oft since. That to effect this they have: first slandered and traduced this Parliaments proceedings both to the King and people, to render them odious to both.

2. Endeavoured to bring up the Northern Army to over-awe and force the Houses to act according to their dictates and interests, or else for to dissolve and destroy them.

3. Perswaded the King to impeach the Lord Kimbolton & the five Members, & then to come personally with a strong armed guard to demand & seiz upon their persons, which was first plotted in France.

4. Raised up a Rebellion of all the Papists in Ireland, to destroy the Protestants there, and dissolve the Parlia. here, against whom they have publickly declared, and sent over forces to the King to assist him in this war, to suppress the Parliament by force of armes.

5. Perswaded the King & many Lords & Commons to desert his Houses of Parl. to dissolve & destroy the Parliament, and then to raise war against them, in wch the Jesuits & Papists at home and abroad have bin most active, & deepest engaged both in purse & person: they being the principle contrivers, abettors & fomenters of this war, to subvert our Religion, Liber. &c. set up Popery & tyranny.

9. Plotted the **seizing and apprehending of some eminent leading Members by a confederacy and commission here in London, for which Tomkins and others were executed, as the Lords and Commons in their Declaration of October 22. 1642. and March 23. 1643. and humble desires, Feb. 1. 1642. with other Declarations since, remonstrate.*

7 That these Jesuits and their party have **obstructed, diverted, prevented the reliefe and supply of the Protestants in Ireland, with men and mony, to betray us into the powr of the Irish Rebels, and extirpate the Protestants and their Religion there.*

All these are remonstrated & cleared to al the world by near one hundred of your owne **Declarations*, & every mans reall experience. All wch the army in their late proceedings have punctually persued & exceeded & therefore certainly are acted by the selfe same counsels & principles, contrarily, it is as evident by your own Declarations: That this army & all your other forces, were purposely raised & engaged both by Commission, Oath, Covenant, & their own solemn Protestations & Remonstrances, **To defend the Kings person, in the maintenance of our Religion, Lawes and Liberties; to maintain the an-*

Appendix
page 1.
Exact col
lection, &c.
p. 28 &c.
Exact col
lect. p. 10
to 20 61.
65 69 70.
78 8. 84.
88 89 93
94 97.
A Collec-
tion, &c p
30. 49. to
79 167.
169 181.
187. 203.
204 211.
216 217.
218 217.
244. to
267. 275.
283. 3 9.
311. 354.
360. 363.
370 379.
412. 417.
424 432.
457 458
470. 489
504. 516.
537. 548.
576. 627
620. 20
64 870.
624. 666.
704. 7 5.
703. 724.
700 &c.
735. 8 2.
803. 806.
811. to 829.
832. 873.
881. 883.
Appendix
cient
p. 7. 1. 15.

cient * Government of this Kingdom, by King, Lords, and Commons, The Right and Privilege, and Members of Parliament, against all force and violence to them, and the Fundamentall lawes of the Realme, and to extirpate (as much as in them lay) all Popery, idolatry, error, superstition, schisme, and what ever is contrary to sound Doctrine.

A Collec-
tion, &c.
p 8 13. 34
41. 43 44.
49. 51 61.
64 75 96.
97 99.
181. 182.
201. 204.
205. 210.
227. 257.
300. 321.
310. 458.
424 425.
496 537.
599. 623.
686. 696.
807. 8. 8.
879.
Appendix
P. 1. 15. 23

This ingagement they really performed in the field till all the Kings Popish and Prelaticall party in armes were utterly routed & broken in peeces, & their garrisons reduced to the Parliament, till which time the Priests, Jesuits, & Papists, joyn'd all the force and power they could raise, with the Kings forces against the houses & this Army to conquer & destroy them. But their hopes & designs being wholly frustrated by the Kings totall defeat, these Jesuits & their Engineers who transforme themselves into all shapes and leave no means unattempted to compass their ends, then faced about from the Kings party, and secretly insinuated themselves into the Parliaments Army, to mutiny and deboynt them against the Parliament, and engage them to put a speedy period and dissolution to it. To this end they attempt to hinder and dissuade them from disbanding and going over to relieve distressed Ireland, according to the Houses votes, and to ingage them against the houses in March, Aprill and May, was twelvemoneth, till which time the Army had ever shewed themselves most dutifull and obedient to the Houses commands. But then to divert and hinder all reliefe of the Protestaant party in Ireland, then brought low, and ready to be swallowed up, when we had no need at all of above seven or eight thousand standing forces in England, where there was no visible enemy, & might have spared ten thousand men for Ireland, who would soon have quelled the Rebels & Papists there. These Jesuits and their popish instruments at that very instant (which is very observable) of purpose to preserve their party in Ireland, and destroy the protestants there, not only dissuaded those of the Army who were engaged and drawne off for Ireland from going thither, but discouraged and enforced them to desert that service, yea hundred other forces from going over for their reliefe, perswading the Army, that this dividing of them was but a plot of Mr. Hill & other Members to destroy them: & then by fomenting this jealousy, & raising up a new order & Councell of Agitators in the Army (some whereof were verily suspected, if not knowne to be Jesuits) they caused the Army at a generall rendezvous to enter into a for-

The Generals &
Armies
Remon-
strance,
Aug 8.
1647.

lemn engagement not to disband, but to march up to London to force the the houses to alter, null, repeale divers Votes and ordinances they had passed; published divers scandalous Declarations and Papers against their proceedings, to disingage and draw off the City and Countrey from their defence: impeached no lesse then eleven of their MEMBERS at once (when as the King impeached onely five) demanded their present suspension from the House before any legall charge or evidence, else they would march up to the Houses doores, & pul them out by violence; as the King would have done: After which, they fall to seclude & drive away more Members by a New *ex officio* proceeding, enforcing them now at last to accuse themselves, and draw up their owne cases; & in Aug. 1647 drive away most of the house by their open force & * high Menaces. Then they set up severall Counsell of State in the Army: and waving their demands as Soulders, formerly insisted on, fell to new modle the State (contrary to their former ingagements) to set up a New modle of Governement, to put a speedy and limited time for the period of this Parliament, & a new & more equall election of Members & representatives, & beginning & ending of Parliaments for the future; receive Petitions, order all matters of Church & State without the Parliament, who must onely ratifie and confirme their Votes! & fell to treat with, and tender proposalls of their owne to the King, without the houses privy. Besides, to pick a quarrell with the City of London (who had first raised, and were so cordiall to the Army & Parliament) and make a irreconcilable breach betweene the City & Houses, to destroy them both by degrees: they caused the houses on a suddain, upon a Letter from the Generall, in one afternoone, without having the City or giving them the least notice of it, to recall the New Ordinance for settling their Militia: wherewith they being justly offended, thereupon on July 26. 1647. the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, & Common-Council, presented a Petition to both Houses, to resettle their Militia as before, being in a full and free house settled without any dissenting Votes, by all their consents; which was seconded by a Petition from the Apprentises; who being over-earnest, offered some unarmed violence to the Houses; and got the Ordinance of repeal nulled, and the Militia resettled as formerly: Hereupon, they perswaded the Army to March up speedily to London (not onely without, but against the Houses Order, not to Quarter within forty miles of the City) to protect the Houses from any further violence; to bring the Authors of
this

this force to speedy and exemplary punishment, and * restore the Houses to a condition of honour, freedom and safety: and that by offering a greater force to the Members, who continued sitting in the absence of those who repaired to, and engaged with them, then that of the Apprentises: driving the eleven Members formerly impeached out of the House & Kingdom, expelling them, & others out of the House, forcing away most of the Commons, nulling all Votes, Orders and Ordinances, from July 26. to August 6. & after that marched through London in Triumph, broke down all their Forts and works about the City, tooke the Tower out of their possession, divided the Militia of Westminster and Southwarke from them, impeached & imprisoned sundry Aldermen and others, who appeared most active for the Parliament from the beginning, impeached, suspended & imprisoned seven Lords at once for sundry months together; afterwards released without any prosecution. And by this meanes raised such a breach between the City and Houses, sets the Members one against another, and put such a stand to their proceedings, by these disturbances in the Parliaments Army, as they could never effect before by all their military power & forces. Now lay all these distempers & proceedings together, & compare them with the Armies late Remonstrance, Declaration, Menaces & present March to London, to force and levy War against the Houses, & their Members, in case they concurred not with them, in their Jesuiticall whimsies and designs: and we shall find them all so opposite & repugnant to the Armies former obedience, professions and principles, so tutable to the Jesuits practices in every particular; all tending onely to force and dissolve this present Parliament, to null and invalid its proceedings, and weaken all its interest, both in the City and Country: And then every rational man must needs acknowledge, they all originally spurng from Jesuiticall suggestions and Counsels: and that Ignatius Loyala then and now rode in an open and triumphall Chariot in the Van of these, and all their late actions of this nature.

Add to this, that the Monstrous opinions broached publicly and privately in the Army, and their quarters, against the Divinity of the Scriptures, the Trinity, the Duty of our Saviour; That Antichrist is only within us: That conscience ought to be free, and all Religions tolerated: That every man is a Minister, and may lawfully preach without ordination: That the civill Magistrat hath no legislative nor coercive power in matters of Religion; That

See their Remonstrance, Aug. 18. 1647.

See Mr. Edwards Gangrena, &c.

The Generals &
Armies
Remonstrance,
Aug 8.
1647.

lemn engagement not to disband, but to march up to London to force the the houses to alter, null, repeale divers Votes and ordinances they had passed; published divers scandalous Declarations and Papers against their proceedings, to disingage and draw off the City and Countrey from their defence: impeached no lesse then eleven of their MEMBERS at once (when as the KING impeached onely five) demanded their present suspension from the House before any legall charge or evidence, else they would march up to the Houses doores, & pul them out by violence; as the King would have done: After which, they fall to seclude & drive away more Members by a New *ex officio* proceeding, enforcing them now at last to accuse themselves, and draw up their owne cases; & in Aug. 1647 drive away most of the house by their open force & * high Menaces. Then they set up severall Counsellors of State in the Army: and waving their demands as Soulders, formerly insisted on, fell to new modle the State (contrary to their former engagements) to set up a New modle of Governement, to put a speedy and limited time for the period of this Parliament, & a new & more equall election of Members & representatives, & beginning & ending of Parliaments for the future; receive Petitions, order all matters of Church & State without the Parliament, who must onely ratifie and confirme their Votes! & fell to treat with, and tender proposalls of their owne to the King, without the houses privy. Beside, to pick a quarrell with the City of London (who had first raised, and were so cordiall to the Army & Parliament) and make a irreconcilable breach betweene the City & Houses, to destroy them both by degrees: they caused the houses on a suddain, upon a Letter from the Generall, in one after-noon, without having the City or giving them the least notice of it, to recall the New Ordinance for settling their Militia: wherewith they being justly offended, thereupon on July 26. 1647. the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, & Common-Council, presented a Petition to both Houses, to resettle their Militia as before, being in a full and free house settled without any dissenting Votes, by all their consents; which was seconded by a Petition from the Apprentises; who being over-earnest, offered some unarmed violence to the Houses; and got the Ordinance of repeal nulled, and the Militia resettled as formerly: Hereupon, they perswaded the Army to March up speedily to London (not onely without, but against the Houses Order, not to Quarter within forty miles of the City) to protect the Houses from any further violence; to bring the Authors of
this

this force to speedy and exemplary punishment, and * restore the Houses to a condition of honour, freedom and safety: and that by offering a greater force to the Members, who continued sitting in the absence of those who repaired to, and ingaged with them, then that of the Apprentises: driving the eleven Members formerly impeached out of the House & Kingdom, expelling them, & others out of the House, forcing away most of the Commons, nulling all Votes, Orders and Ordinances, from July 26. to August 6. & after that marched through London in Triumph, broke down all their Forts and works about the City, tooke the Tower out of their possession, divided the Militia of Westminster and Southwarke from them, impeached & imprisoned sundry Aldermen and others, who appeared most active for the Parliament from the beginning, impeached, suspended & imprisoned seven Lords at once for sundry months together; afterwards released without any prosecution. And by this meanes raised such a breach between the City and Houses, sets the Members one against another, and put such a stand to their proceedings, by these disturbances in the Parliaments Army, as they could never effect before by all their military power & forces. Now lay all these distempers & proceedings together, & compare them with the Armies late Remonstrance, Declarations, Menaces & present March to London, to force and levy War against the Houses, & their Members, in case they concurred not with them, in their Jesuiticall whimsies and designs: and we shall find them all so opposite & repugnant to the Armies former obedience, professions and principles, so tutable to the Jesuits practices in every particular; all tending onely to force and dissolve this present Parliament, to null and invalid its proceedings, and weaken all its interest, both in the City and Country: And then every rational man must needs acknowledge, they all originally spurng from Jesuiticall suggestions and Counsels: and that Ignatius Loyala then and now rode in an open and triumphall Chariot in the Van of these, and all their late actions of this nature.

Add to this, that the Monstrous opinions broached publicly and privately in the Army, and their quarters, against the Divinity of the Scriptures, the Trinity, the Duity of our Saviour; That Antichrist is only within us: That conscience ought to be free, and all Religions tolerated: That every man is a Minister, and may lawfully preach without ordination: That the civill Magistrat hath no legislative nor coercive power in matters of Religion; That

See their Remonstrance, Aug. 18. 1647.

See Mr. Edwards Gangrena, &c.

titles are Antichristian, and the like, seconded with publique affronts to our Ministers, climbing up into their Pulpits interrupting them publicly in their Sermons, and making our Churches common Stables in some places, and receptacles of their excrements, their open revilings at the proceedings of Parliam. and their Members, and all to render our Religion and the professors of it odious to the people, to make them readier and better inclined unto Popery, disgrace and undoe our Ministers, and render them and their preaching in effectually : subvert the power of our Magistracy, make the houses odious to all, and put all things into a present confusion ; I am confident all these were nothing else but the projects and practises of Jesuits and their agents, who crept into the Army to seduce and distemper them, being so diametrically contrary to the Generalls, Officers and Soldiers former practises, principles, professions, and that piety they have professed.

But that which further demonstrates it is this; That after the General & Officers of the Army had confessed their error* in meddling with* State affaires, & settling & reforming the Commonwealth, in the* General Councell at Putney [where they voted & acted more like a Parliam. then a Councell of War] & promised to proceed no further in it, but acquiesce with the houses determinations: these Jesuits, by the help of their instruments the Agitators, to carry on their design of putting a speedy period to the present & all future Parliaments, draw up a moddell of a new Representative, which they intituled *The Agreement of the people*, subscribed by divers Regiments of the Army (9 of horse and 7 of foot) and then caused it to be presented to the house of Commons in November 1647. The matter ended, and time of it compared together, and the houses votes upon it, are very considerable; and discover a Jesuit in the front and reare of it: We all know, that the Jesuits and their popish confederats, ever since Queen Elizabeths Reign, when so many strict laws were made against, have had an aking tooth against Parliaments, Their first and most desperate attempt was in the third year of King James, to blow up the K. and both houses of Parliament with Gunpowder, the originall plotters of this horrid Treason, were the Pope and Jesuits : as is clear by, Del Roi. his book, & other printed papers almost a year before : the chiefe actors in it, were discontented Gentlemen and Souldiers, *Catesby, Percy, Winter, Faux,* and others, as our stories* relate, fit instruments to blow up Parliaments : The day

See the arraignment of Traytors, Mr Vicers History, Speeds Chronicle and others

day when this was to be executed, was the fift of November: but this treason, being through Gods great mercy discovered on that day, the King and Parliament adjudged these Iesuits, and Popish Traytors to be executed, and that day by Act of Parliament to be perpetually observed for a Thanksgiving day of this happy deliverance from that treason. The Iesuites who have broken off all former Parliaments in this Kings reigne till this, and would eternally dissolve this, and all succeeding Parliaments, by way of revenge for their ill successes then, have these two last yeares together, in this very moneth of November, conspired to blow up or pull down this and all other Parliaments; so as the very circumstance of the moneth and time, discovers in my apprehension, the Iesuites to be chiefe actors in this tragedy. The first attempt of this kind was on the fift of November, 1647. the very day of the powder plot, but by the Houses occasions put off till the 9th. Then the *Agreement of the People* was ushered into the House of Commons, with a Petition by the *Agitators*: when this Agreement of the people and Petition was presented, *Gifford* a *Staffordshire Gent.* and a Jesuite (a yeare before sent from beyond the Seas, who at first feigned himselfe a convert to our Religion) was present in the lobby with the *Agitators*, and promoted it all he could, expressing his approbation of it, being gotten into the Generalls owne life Guard, and the next man to him, when he came to bring the Speaker unto the House of Commons, *August, 6. 1647.* He was afterward very active to perswade the *Staffordshire* supernumerarie forces not to disband, and prevailed so much with them, that there were severall orders from the house & General ere they would obey: therefore its probable he and they perswaded the *Army* at first not to disband, or to goe for *Ireland* After which he was taken this summer at a meeting in *Ramme-alley* to raise a new Warre, and being carried prisoner to the Committee of safety, made an escape from thence, by bribing his Keepers, as is conceived, having offered fifty peeces to a Captaine to suffer him to escape. This Petition and *Agreement of the People*, thus presented by the *Agitators*, and this Jesuite, Upou reading and debate thereof this House passed these Votes against it.

Die Martis 9. Novemb^r. 1647.

A paper directed, To the Supream authority of the Nation, The Commons in Parliament assembeld, and stiled, The just and earnest Petition of those whose names are subscribed, in behalfe of themselves, and all the

the free born people of England, together with a printed paper annexed, intituled, *An Agreement of the People for future and present peace, upon grounds of common right, avowed.*

Resolved &c.

That the matters contained in these papers ARE DESTRUCTIVE TO THE BEING OF PARLIAMENTS, and TO THE FUNDAMENTALL GOVERNMENT OF THE KINGDOM.

Resolved, &c.

That a letter should be sent to the Generall, and those papers inclosed, together with the Vote of this house upon them, and that he be desired to examine the proceeding of this businesse in the Army, and returne an account hereof to this House.

By which Votes is apparant, That the house then deemed this Agreement of the people, a second Gunpowder Treason, *Destructive to the being of Parliaments*: That some Jesuites, or ill affected persons in the Army, had put these *Agitators* upon it, and therefore desired the Generall to examine and give them an account of it.

The Generall and Councell of Warre in pursuance of this vote, condemned one of the *Agitators* who fomented it, and shot him to death at *Ware*: wherewith they acquainted the house, and by this meanes this *Jesuites* brat and *Engin* to blow up this and future *Parliaments*, was no further prosecuted in the Army, but some of their confederates in the City, on the 23. of the same November, most audaciously sent it into the house, to the *Speaker*, inclosed in a Letter with a petition: wherupō the House unanimously passed these votes concerning this agreement, for the committing and prosecuting those who presented it, & giving the *Generall* thanks, for the Execution done at *Ware*, & desiring him to prosecute the businesse further, to the bottome, where they thought they should find a litter of *Jesuites*, and a *Garnet*, a *Catesby*. and *Faux*, together in the *Vault*.

Die Martis, 23. Novemberis 1647.

A Petition directed, to the Supream Authority of England, The Commons in Parliament assembled, and intituled, *The humble Petition of many free borne People of England, sent in a Letter, directed to Mr. Speaker, and opened by a Committee thereunto appointed, was read the first and second time.*

A Title
now own-
ed by them
thogh then
disclaimed

Resolved vpon the question.

That this Petition is a seditious and contemptuous avowing, and prosecution of a former Petition and paper annexed, stiled an Agreement of

of the people, formerly adjudged by the House to be destructive to the being of Parliaments, and fundamentall government of the Kingdoms.

Resolved, &c.

That Thomas Prince Cheesemonger, and Samuel Chidly, be forthwith committed prisoners to the prison of the Gate-house, there to remaine prisoners during the pleasure of this House, for a seditious and contemptuous avowing and prosecution of a former petition, and paper annexed, stiled An Agreement of the people formerly adjudged by this House, to be Destructive to the being of Parliaments and fundamentall Government of the Kingdome.

Resolved, &c.

That Jeremy Ives, Thomas Taylor, and William Larner, be forthwith committed to the prison at Newgate, there to remaine prisoners during the pleasure of this House, for a seditious and contemptuous avowing, and prosecution of a former petition and paper annexed, stiled, An Agreement of the People, formerly adjudged by this House to be Destructive to the being of Parliaments, and fundamentall Government of the Kingdome.

Resolved &c.

That a letter be prepared and sent to the Generall, taking notice of his proceedings in the execution according to the rules of War [of a murinous person] at their Rendezvouze neare Ware, and to give him thanks for it, and to desire him to prosecute the examination of that businesse to the bottom, and to bring such guilty persons as he shall think fit, to condigne and exemplary punishment.

Resolved &c.

That the Vots upon the former Petition and Agreement annexed, and likewise the Vots and proceedings upon this Petition, be forthwith printed and published.

Yea, the houses were so sensible of the treasonablenes and danger of this agreement, that in an Ordinance of the 17. of Decem. 1647. For electing of Common Councill men, and other Officers in London, they expressly ordained, that person who hath contrived, abetted, perwaded, or entred into that engagement intituled, The agreement of the people declared to BE DESTRUCTIVE TO THE BEING OF PARLIAMENTS, AND FUNDAMENTALL GOVERNMENT OF THE KINGDOM be elected, chosen, or put into the Office or place of the Lord Mayor of the City of London, Sheriffe or Alderman, Deputie of a Ward, or Common Councill man of

the free born people of England, together with a printed paper annexed, intituled, An Agreement of the People for future and present peace, upon grounds of common right, avowed.

Resolved &c.

NOTA. That the matters contained in these papers ARE DESTRUCTIVE TO THE BEING OF PARLIAMENTS, and TO THE FUNDAMENTALL GOVERNMENT OF THE KINGDOM.

Resolved, &c.

That a letter should be sent to the Generall, and those papers inclosed, together with the Vote of this house upon them, and that he be desired to examine the proceeding of this businesse in the Army, and returne an account hereof to this House.

By which Votes is apparant, That the house then deemed this Agreement of the people, a second Gunpowder Treason, *Destructive to the being of Parliaments*: That some Jesuites, or ill affected persons in the Army, had put these Agitators upon it, and therefore desired the Generall to examine and give them an account of it.

The Generall and Councell of Warre in pursuance of this vote, condemned one of the Agitators who fomented it, and shot him to death at Ware: wherewith they acquainted the house, and by this means this Jesuites brat and Engin to blow up this and future Parliaments, was no further prosecuted in the Army, but some of their confederates in the City, on the 23. of the same November, most audaciously sent it into the house, to the Speaker, inclosed in a Letter with a petition: wherupon the House unanimously passed these votes concerning this agreement, for the committing and prosecuting those who presented it, & giving the Generall thanks, for the Execution done at Ware, & desiring him to prosecute the businesse further, to the bottome, where they thought they should find a litter of Jesuites, and a Garnet, a Catesby, and Faux, together in the Vault.

Die Martis, 23. Novemberis 1647.

A Title now owned by them though then disclaimed

A Petition directed, to the Supream Authority of England, The Commons in Parliament assembled, and intituled, *The humble Petition of many free borne People of England, sent in a Letter, directed to Mr. Speaker, and opened by a Committee thereunto appointed,* was read the first and second time.

Resolved vpon the question.

That this Petition is a seditious and contemptuous avowing, and prosecution of a former Petition and paper annexed, stiled an Agreement of

of the people, formerly adjudged by the House to be destructive to the being of Parliaments, and fundamentall government of the Kingdoms.

Resolved, &c.

That Thomas Prince Cheesemonger, and Samuel Chidly, be forthwith committed prisoners to the prison of the Gate-house, there to remaine prisoners during the pleasure of this House, for a seditious and contemptuous avowing and prosecution of a former petition, and paper annexed, stiled An Agreement of the people formerly adjudged by this House, to be Destructive to the being of Parliaments and fundamentall Government of the Kingdom.

Resolved, &c.

That Jeremy Ives, Thomas Taylor, and William Lerner, be forthwith committed to the prison at Newgate, there to remaine prisoners during the pleasure of this House, for a seditious and contemptuous avowing, and prosecution of a former petition and paper annexed, stiled, An Agreement of the People, formerly adjudged by this House to be Destructive to the being of Parliaments, and fundamentall Government of the Kingdom.

Resolved &c.

That a letter be prepared and sent to the Generall, taking notice of his proceedings in the execution according to the rules of War [of a mutinous person] at their Rendezvouze neare Ware, and to give him thanks for it, and to desire him to prosecute the examination of that businesse to the bottom, and to bring such guilty persons as he shall think fit, to condigne and exemplary punishment.

Resolved &c.

That the Vots upon the former Petition and Agreement annexed, and likewise the Vots and proceedings upon this Petition, be forthwith printed and published.

Yea, the houses were so sensible of the treasonableness and danger of this agreement, that in an Ordinance of the 17. of Decem. 1647. For electing of Common Councill men, and other Officers in London, they expressly ordained, that person who hath contrived, abetted, perwaded, or entred into that engagement intituled, The agreement of the people declared to BE DESTRUCTIVE TO THE BEING OF PARLIAMENTS, AND FUNDAMENTALL GOVERNMENT OF THE KINGDOM be elected, chosen, or put into the Office or place of the Lord Mayor of the City of London, Sheriffe or Alderman, Deputie of a Ward, or Common Councill man of

the said City, nor shall have any voice in the electing of any such Officers for the space of one whole year, and be made incapable of any of the said places. Upon this treable sentence of condemnation that passed against this Agreement of the people by these Votes & Ordinances, this stratagem of the Jesuits to blow up this and future Parliaments, by putting a certain period to this Parliaments dissolution on the last of Sept. 1648. and setting a more equal Representative for the future, with a fixed time for its beginning and ending, and of a new Parliament of Commons alone without King or Lord, [the substance of this whole agreement] was for that year frustrated, and totally laid aside till the beginning of Novemb. last. At which time the Jesuits and the Agitators, to hinder Irelands reliefe, and our settlement, prosecuted it againe a fresh in the Army, & the better to disguise & carry it on more closely, they inserted it verbatim into their Remonstrance to break off the Treaty with the King, & prevailed so far with the General and his generall Councell of Officers [who formerly condemned it, and shot one to death for abetting it but in Novemb. before] as unanimously to approve it, at St. Albans the sixteenth of Novemb. 1648. and sent it to this House the twentieth of that moneth to break off the Treaty presently, and to be forthwith considered and confirmed, and which is most observable; ushered it in with this Jesuiticall preface, and these disloyall popish demands.

Remonst.
p 62, 63.
&c.

* That the Capitall and grand Author of our troubles, the person of the King by whose commission, commands or procurement and in whose behalfe, and for whose interest onely [of will and power] all our warres and troubles have been, with all the miseries attending them, may be speedily brought to Justice, for the Treason, blood and mischief he is therein guilty of.

That a timely and peremptory day may be set for the Prince of Wales, and Duke of York to come in, and render themselves, or else immediatly made incapable of any Government, or trust in this Kingdome, or the Dominions thereof, or of any right within the same, and thenceforth to stand exiled for ever, as Enemies and Traytors, and to dye without mercy, if ever hereafter found therein, or if they render themselves, then to be proceeded against for their Capitall Delinquency, in justice, or remitted upon satisfaction given. But however the land and revenue of the Crowne to be presently sequestred &c.

Then followes this Agreement of the People, for setting some reasonable and certain period to this Parliament, to be assigned as short,

as may be, with safety to the Kingdoms and publike interest thereof, and for settling the new Representative &c.

And because it was twice voted down in November 1648. by the house, it is twice repeated and insisted on in this long-winded Remonstrance page 14, 15, 16. and page, 65, 66, 67. (so much are they in love with the Jesuits Dalila) that so it might now be twice confirmed and settled by the house, in approving this Remonstrance.

Now compare this third gunpowder plot with the two former in November last, to blow up King, Prince, Duke, Lords, Commons, this present and all future Parliaments at one attempt, to destroy the King, and Parliament disinheret his royall posterity, unpeer all the Lords & levell them with the dust, to root up them & all Parliaments root and branch at once, against all our Oathes, our Covenants, our Remonstrances, our Declarations, our Lawes, our Protestant Religion, all here devoted to ruine together, as the onely safe and speedy way to settell peace and safety in Church and State [to omit the horrid equivocations, dispensations with oathes & Covenants, and Jesuiticall distinctions, in that Remonstrance, they are such clear visible Characters of a Jesuites pensill, hand and head in this Remonstrance, so abounding with their bloody disloyall Tenents & practises of killing and deposing Christian Kings who wil not do homage to their Roman Pontif: & blowing up Protestant Stats, Kingdoms, Parliaments] so abhorrent to al *Protestant Principals, Professions practises, who never yet embrued their hands in, nor stained their religiō with the blood of any King or actual deposition of any Protestant or Popish Pr. who was their lawful King, or disinheriting of his lawful heirs, or puling downe a Protestant Reforming Parliament, that none but Jesuits and Jesuited Papists could possibly invent, or spur on the Generall, Officers and Army so violently and madly to prosecute them, as they do by a subsequent high Declaration discovering a very Jesuiticall spirit in the pen-man, distinguishing the Memb. of the house dissenting from them in these Treasonable practises into a treasonable brach of trust, & usurping to themselves a power to judge, censure, and exclude them, and make those Members who shall confederate with them herein, though never so few, materially a Parliament, though formerly and essentially no Parliament at all, and mooving them to depart the house and joyn with them in these Jesuiticall designs. Which they have since agravated and backed by their disobedyent

* See the Homilies against rebellion, Deus & Rex John Whites Defence of the way, c. 6. 10. Dr. Bilson of Christian subjection and unchristian rebellion par 3. Bishop Iowels View of a seditious Bull

2 Jac. 1.
4.5.

march to *Westminster* and *London* against our commands, by force and open violence to over-awe us, & by our votes in Parliament to put all their treasonable Romish demands in present execution, to justify these very traitorous doctrines and practises of theirs, which our Parliaments have in direct terms in * sundry Acts condemned, and every one of us solemnly abjured in the oath of allegiance, which he must take immediately before his sitting in the house, & without taking whereof he neither is nor can be enabled to sit as a Member. I shall further offer this to your consideration, that as soon as ever this Agreement of the people was suppressed in *Novem. 1647.* and the king perswaded to reject the propositions tendered him by both Houses, by some officers in the army, of purpose to treat on their proposals: The agitators & Jesuits in the army, opposed these Proposals and threatening to offer some violence to the Kings person, caused him secretly to withdraw himself from *Hampton Court*, into the Isle of *Wight*, where they shut him up close prisoner, without the Houses privy: which done, they caused their confederates (when most of the Members were sent into the Country to disband the supernumeraries) to passe a vote in the Commons house, to make no more addresses to the King, not to set him aside, (as they then professed to many dissenting members) but only to induce the K. to seek first to them; without which protestation, they had never carried this vote; which passed, & most of the Membrs departing, the 2. ensuing Votes were set on foot, & passed at an unreasonable hour, & gotten by surprize. The very next morning there came a Declaration from Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the Gen: Counsell of the Army, *Ian. 11. 1647.* signifying their resolutions, to adhere to the Houses, for settling and securing the parliament and kingdom, without the King and against him, or any other that shall hereafter partake with him. But the Lgrds sticking at these Votes, there was a regement or two of foot sent from the Army to garrison *White hall*; and a regiment of horse bilited in the *Mues*, to fright and force the Lords to a Concurrence. And some few dayes after, a Book written by *Dolman*, (alyas *Parsons* the Jesuite) against King *James* his Title to the Crown; and concerning the lawfulnessse of Subjects & Parliaments deposing & chastising of their Kings for their misgouvernement, & the good & prosperous successse that God commonly bath given to the same [printed out of *Dolmans* own printed Copy verbatim, except the word Parliament added to it now and then, was published to the world

world, with this Title: *Severall Speeches delivered at a conference, concerning the power of Parliaments, to proceed against their King for misgovernment*: which Book with this false new title published at this season, intimated to the world, that this discourse of a Jesuite (for which he was condemned of high treason) was nothing else, but speeches made by some Members of the Commons house; at a conference with the Lords, The highest dishonour & affront ever put upon a protestant Parliament, to have the book and doctrine of a Jesuit thus falsely fathered on them: of which, though I my self and others complained, there was nothing done to vindicate the houses from this grosse imputation: And about the same time, there was another book intituled, *Royal tyranny discovered: Discovering the tyranny of the Kings, of England from William the invader and robber & Tyrant, alias the Conqueror, to this present King Charles; who is plainly proved, to be worse and more tyrannicall then any of his predecessors, and deserves a more severe punishment from the hands of this present Parliament*; then either of the deposed Kings, Ed. 2 or Rich. 2. had from former Parliaments which they are bound by duty and Oath, without equivocation or collusion, to inflict upon him; he being the greatest delinquent in the three kingdoms; and the head of the rest; so the title. In the Table, there are these passages amongst others, *Charles Steward guilty of this treason. p. 92, 93, 94, 95, 97. C. R. (Charles Rex) Dought to be executed, p. 57. where the houses are not only pressed to depose and execute him but his execution [in their neglect] foretold, & that in An exemplary manner, in despite of all his protectors and defenders. Which Jesuitical books and counsels published at that instant, discovered clearly to my apprehension, their votes for laying the King then aside, & the deposing & executing of him to be then intended, [only interrupted by the Scots invasion & the last summers commotion, occasioned by those votes of Non addressees] and the forcing on of them then & now by the army, with the violence they use, to be no other but a very plot and project of the Jesuits to ruine and destroy the King and us.*

I shall only add to this, what I manifested but now, that it was the Jesuits plot when they engaged and assisted the King in his warre against the Scots, to dash the protestants in both nations in peeces one against another, & so be masters of both kingdoms, & extirpate our religion in both; and that if the King consented not to grant them a generall free exercise of their religion throughout all his realms

realms & Dominions, or did but sticke at it, that then they would presently poyson & dispatch him, possesse themselves of the *Prince*, next heire to the Crowne, & then by flattery or menaces draw him to their Religion, match him to a *Papist*, and then all three Kingdomes would soon turn *Papists*, and all *Protestants* be murdered, or burnt for *Heretiques*. Now these *Papists* and *Iesuits* understanding, that the *King* [beyond & contrary to their expectatiō] hath granted all or most of our *Propositions* in the *Isle of Wight*, and fully condescended to five *New bills*, for the extirpation of *Masse*, *Popery*, and *Papish innovations* out of his *Dominions*, and putting all *Lawes* in execution against them, and for a speedier discovery and conviction of them then formerly, and that their good friends and Confederats our *Arch-Bishops*, *Bishops*, *Deans* and *Chapters*, and other branches of the hierarchy, are to be wholly routed out, both in *England* and *Ireland*, so as they are never likely to have any more footing in them againe, after all their late warres, charges, hazards, plots and designes, to set up their *Catholique Religion* & party are so enraged with the *King*, & so inexorably incensed against him both at home & abroad [as I am credibly informed] that now they are mad against him, & thirst for nothing but his blood; which they think they cannot advantageously & effectually accomplish, but by engaging the *Army* to dissolve the *Treaty*, & force the *Parliament*, in case they vote his answers satisfactory: and then by themselves, are a confederate party in the *House*, to depose & cut off his head. Which done, the *Prince* being now beyond Seas in their power, destitute of his hopes of succession to this *Crown*, banished, and declared a *Traitor* and to dye without mercy if he returne hither, & to lose his head as well as his father, upon such high affronts put upon his *Father* & himself, & that by a *Protestant Parliament*, & *Army of Saints*, will be so enraged against all professors of our religion that he will probably professe himself a *Roman Catholique* (and his brother too) match with a *Catholique Prince*, & then ingage all the *papists* in forraign parts, *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to unite their forces, purses & counsels by way of revenge, to cut all the *Protestants* throats in all three Kingdomes, who have adhered to the *Parliament*, and hew the *Army* it selfe in peeces, when they have thus accomplished their designs: which will render them and the *Parliament* execrable and infamous to all posterity, and then fare well all *Parliaments*, and our *Protestant* religion for ever, not onely here, but throughout

throughout all *Christendome*, where the Popish Princes will presently massacre the *Protestants*, lest they should fall to the like perfidious practises. This I am most confident is their designe, by what I have met with in their papers, and in the Jesuit *Contreux* politiques and others, who have chalked out a way by degrees *insensibly* to *crue Popery* ino any *Protestant Church*: by those very steps which our Prelates followed, who were directed by them, and to alter and subvert any *Protestant State and Kingdom*, by this new modelling of them into such a popular *Anarchy*, as is now suggested and presented in the *Armies Remonstrance*. This I am assured will be the unavoydable, desperate and deplorable issue, if we comply with them and the Army in it, unless God in his infinite mercy shal hold off their hands, and turn their hearts, from prosecuting their present designes.

I shall onely adde one thing more, and so conclude. That many of the *Agitators* and *Armies* papers, [especially *Putney projects*, and some late *Declarations*] favour of a *Jesuites* stile or spirit. That I have been credibly informed, that not onely *Gifford* a Jesuite, was one of the Generals own *Life-guard*, and a very active man in the Army, but one *Thomas Budds*, alias *Peto* (the last Popish Priest, condemned at *N. wate*) was a Trooper in this Army, and by influence of some great Officers in it, obtained a Reprieve instead of an Execution: That the *Papists* beyond Seas with very well to the Army, in whom now is their chiefest hopes; and that the *Jesuits Cels* and *Colleges* in forraign parts, are of late very empty; that many *Popish Priests* and *Jesuits* are now in *England*, not saying *Masse*, crying up the *Pope* and *Popish Tenents* as heretofore [that were to grosse, and they easily discovered:] but using all manner of *mechanick Trades*, preaching in private corners, as *Sectaries*, *Anabaptists*, *Seekers*, *broachers* of *new Light*, or as *gifted brethren*, that many of them are turned *Troopers*, *Agitators*, if not some of them Officers in the Army, or at leastwise have so insinuated themselves into the leading *Officers* there, [who are much taken with their parts, their new Designs & Terents to alter & unsettle States] that they have as powerfull an influence now upon the *Armies Councils* & *Officers*, as formerly they had upon the *King* and his *Councils*, and have now thus deeply ingaged them (beyond all expectation) to accomplish these *Jesuiticall* designes of theirs, to depose and destry the King; dissolve this Parliament; subvert our Magistracy, Ministry, Religion, Lawes, Liberties, Govern-
ment,

ment, and establish their *Utopian New modale* of confusion, in lieu of Parliaments and regall power, thereby to accomplish that now, which all their Popish conspiracies, armies and confederates from the beginning of *Queen Elizabeths* reign, could never yet effect by all their treachery, policy, power: and how farre they have proceeded and engaged the Army and Officers unwillingly in it, out of honest intentions, we all now sadly behold to our great amazement, even in this instant of time when *Ireland* is in such eminent danger of being utterly lost, to keep off all Supplies from thence.

I beseech you *Mr. Speaker*, let us all lay this speedily to our hearts, and goe about to prevent it, ere it be too late. If we Vote the *Kings Answer* now *unsatisfactory*, and so breake off the *Treaty* with him, our onely means of peace and settlement; we have all our hopes and all these large concessions which the *King* hath granted both for our present and future security; our Monarchy, Magistracy, Ministry, Parliaments, Laws, Liberties, Kingdoms, and that which is dearest to us, our Religion also endangered, yea lost at once, and such a certain foundation laid to carry on all these *Jesuiticall designs* I have here discovered, and that by authority of this House, as will stain the honor of this most glorious and renowned Parliam. to all Posterity, and put a dishonorable speedy period to this and all future Parliam. for ever. But if we Vote it so far *satisfactory*, as I have stated it (and humbly conceive proved it substantially to every rational mans understanding & conscience) as that we may lay present hold upon it, and proceed therein without delay, to turn all the *Kings Concessions* into Bills (which I have for the most part already drawn) and get the *Kings Royall assent* unto them, I doubt not but by Gods blessing on our endeavours, we may before this Month be ended, settle such a firme and well grounded Peace between the *King* & all his People and kingdom; upon such honorable, safe, and advantagious terms for the Publick interest, & such strong securities, as no State, or Kingdome ever yet enjoyed the like since the Creation.

And therefore *Mr. Speaker*, upon this long and tedious debate (for which I must humbly begge pardon of the House, being a businesse of such infinite concernment to our present weale or ruine) I must and doe conclude, That the *Kings Answers* to the Propositions of both Houses, are so farre Satisfactory, at the least, as that this House may upon safe and firme grounds, and great advantages, forthwith accept of, and immediately proceed upon them, to the speedy settlement of the peace

Peace of the Kingdome; and are bound both in honour, prudence, justice, and Conscience so to doe, to preserve themselves, our three Kingdomes and the Arm y too, from perpetuall bloody wars, and inevitable impendent desolati-on and confusjon.

FINIS.



A N
A P P E N D I X.

For the Kingdoms better satisfaction of some occurrences since this S P E E C H.

THis Speech, uttered with much pathetique seriousnessse, and heard with great attention, gave such a generall satisfaction to the House that many Members, formerly of a contrary opinion, professed, they were both convinced and converted; others who were dubious in the point of satisfaction, that they were now fully confirmed, most of different opinion put to a stand: and the *Majority of the House*, declared both by their *cheerfull Countenances and Speeches* [the *Speaker* going into the withdrawing Room to refresh himself, so soon as the Speech was ended) that they were abundantly satisfied by what had been thus spoken. After which the *Speaker* resuming the Chair, this Speech was Seconded by many able *Gentlemen*, and the debate continuing Saturday, and all Munday and Munday night till about nine of the Clock on Tuesday morning; and 244 Members staying quite out to the end, though the House doores were not shut up (a thing never seen or known before in Parliament) the question was at last put, and notwithstanding the Generals and whole Armies march to *Westminster*, and Menaces against the Members, in case they Voted for the Treaty, and did not utterly eject it as unsatisfactory, carryed in the affirmative by 140 Voyces (with the four Tellers) against 104 that the question should be put, and then without any division of the House it was,

Resolved on the question, *That the Answers of the King to the Propositions of both Houses, are a ground for the House to proceed upon for the settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom.*

S

And

And to give the General Officers and Soldiers satisfaction, and keep a fair correspondency between the house and them, they so far descended, as likewise further to vote at the same time

That Mr. Peirpoint, Sir John Evelyn of Wilts, Mr. Solicitor, Col. Birch, M. Ashurst, Sir Thomas Witherington, and Mr. Maynard, are appointed to repair to the head-quarters this afternoon, to confer with the Lord General and his Officers, to keep a Right understanding and a good correspondency between the House and the General and the Army.

Which done, the House who sat up all the day and night before, adjourned until Wednesday morning; At which time the *General* and *Officers* of the Army highly displeased with the vote and those Members who assented to it, sent two or three whole Regiments of Foot and Horse to *Westminster*; set a strong guard at the Houses doors, in the lobby, stairs, and at every passage leading towards the house, admitting none but Parliament men themselves to enter into *Westminster-Hall*, or the back stairs leading to the Court of Requests, and excluding their servants who attended them; Col. *Pride*, Col. *Hewson*, and Sir *Hardress Waller* seized upon divers Members of the Commons house, some at the House doors, other in the Lobby, others on the stairs near the House, without any warrant, or reason alleadged, but their sword and power, as they were going to sit and discharge their duties. Among others, Col. *Pride*, seized upon Mr. *Prynne* going up the stairs next the house, and told him, Mr. *Prynne*, you must not go into the House, but must go along with me; M. *Prynne* returned this answer, That he was a Member of the House and was going into it to discharge his duty, from which no man should or ought to hinder him, whether he would go, and he should not keep him back, and thereupon thrust up a step or two more. Whereupon *Pride* thrusting him down before, and Sir *Hardress Waller*, and others laying hands on, and pulling him down forcibly behind to the Court of Requests great door, Mr. *Prynne* thereupon demanded by what Authority and Commission, and for what cause they did thus violently seize on, and pull him from the house? to which *Pride* and *Waller* shewing him their armed Souldiers standing round about him with swords, muskets, and matches lighted, told him that there was their Commission: to which Mr. *Prynne* answered, that they were no legal commission, nor cause for them to seize upon him being a Member, and openly protested, that it was an high breach

of

of the Priviledges of Parliament and affront to the house, and desired the standers by to bear witness of this violence and his Protestation against it, and that they being more and stronger then he, and all armed and he unarmed, they might forcibly carry him whether they pleased, but stirre he would not thence of his own accord, whereupon they forcibly pushed him into the Queens Court, where some other Members a little before seized, were kept Prisoners by them.

The house bein informed by Mr. Dodridge, a member who came along with Mr. Pryme, of this violence upon him and high breach of priviledge in seizing him and other Members, sent the Serjeant of the House, to demand them of the Captain that guarded them, and to command their present attendance in the House: which message though delivered by him, and the prisoners thereupon requiring obedience, that they might accordingly attend the House: was yet slighted and disobeyed, whereupon the House ordered the Serjeant the second time to go with his mace and demand the Members, and bring them unto the house forthwith; the house refusing to do any businesse till their Members were restored, but Pride and his confederates stayed the Serjeant in the lobby, and would not suffer him to go to the members; whereupon he returning into the House, acquainted them with the contempt, which was entred into the Journall. Thereupon the House concluded, not to proceed till their Members were restored, and sent a Committee to the General to demand them, Mr. Edward Stephens and Colonell Birch being in the house were sent for to the doore by some of the Officers by false tickets, and pulled out from the house doores by violence, Col. Birch putting his head within the doore, and crying out to the Speaker, *whether they would suffer their members to be pulled out thus violently before their faces, and yet sit still?*

When night approached St. Peters (who now keeps the prison door keyes of hell and Purgatory) released two of the imprisoned Members (Sir Benjamin Ruddiard, and Mr. Nath. Fiennes) by the same power of the Sword (as he said) that had taken and held them captive: belike they were all prisoners of War, and so their marching up to Westminster was a leavying open warre against the Parliament, and so Treason by their own Declarations and Remonstrance, in as high or higher degree, as that for which they demand the "King to be brought to speedy justice and execution. Soon after, he and some o-

other Officers, promised the imprisoned Members, that they should be removed to *Wallingford house*, where the *Generall* and *Lieutenant Generall* would come and conferre with them, and they should have all fitting accommodations, there provided for them; and that Coaches were provided to carry them thither; whereupon they all took Coach to go thither: but coming to *Hell* back gate, the Coaches were all there stayed, and the Members thrust all prisoners into *Hell*, where they were kept all that cold night, without either bedding or other needful accommodations, though some of them aged & infirm, & there enforced to lye upon the bare flower and Benches instead of *Beds*, few of them taking any rest at all that night. The next morning a little before Dinner, they were all carried fasting to *White Hall*, by the *Generalls* order, guarded with foot and horse, before and behind, and on every side, like so many Traytors to attend the *General*, and his *Councell*, who desired presently to speak with them, as the *Marshall* informed them under whose custody they were put. But when they came there, they waited on their more then Royall new Excellencies till six a clock at night, without eating or drinking: and then received this cold Message, without being admitted to the *Generalls* or *Councells* presence. That the *Generall* and Officers were now so busie in consultation about other important affaires, that they could not speak with them that night, but had given order for their accommodation at the *Kings Head*, and *Swan* in the *Strand*, whither they should be carried that night, and the next morning some Officers would wait on them with Propositions: which done they were guarded every man with his musqueteer at his back, and others by his side, and horse and foot before and behind their persons, like so many Rogues or felons, and so sent on foot through the dirty street, except six who were lame, who got a Coach to these two Inns; and there kept prisoners severall daies till some were after by degrees without any condition, or cause assigned of their commitment, and others not released, removed elsewhere. The next day after those Members were thus violently seized, *Mr. Gewen* was seized at the *House*, and *Mr. Vaghan* at his Lodging, and sent Prisoners to the other Members: *Sir William Litten* was likewise seized that day, and kept Prisoner in *White Hall*; but after released by *Sir William Constables* Order: That day and five or six dayes following, above one hundred and sixty Members more, whose names were listed by the officers and souldiers that stood at the house Doores

Doors, who kept back every one that was so lifted, were forcibly secluded and driven away from the House, which could hardly get above 45. or 50. (most confederates with the army to carry on their designs) and Vote their Counsells Imperiall Dictates, as the houses votes, & not above 3. or 4. Lords at most attended and made up that Honorable house: all of them still sitting under the armies armed violence & over-awing terror. These 45. or 50. only whiles under this horrid force, during the restraint and forcible seclusion of above 200 members by the army, (and so all their Votes, Orders, & proceedings meerely null and void, by their own Ordinance of August 20. 1647. which declared, all Votes, Ordinances and proceedings during the members absence in the army, though not above 40. at most to be null & void, from July 26. to August six, though the houses were then almost treble the number they are now, and no one member secluded or actually forced away from either house) have assumed to themselves the name & power of the house, and presumed to repeal all Votes concerning the Treaty as dishonorable and destructive: & among others the Vote made upon this solempne and long debate when there were 244 Members present at the Question, and above 340 at the debate when fullest through age & infirmity could not hold out all night til the question put, & some members contrary to the course of all former Parliam. after these Votes passed, have presumed to draw up & enter particular protestations against it: for which other members in former times have bin suspended the house, & sent prisoners to the tower. The list of those who have entered their dissents & protests against it, follows: because the secluded Members & those who concurred in that Vote, being above three times their number, expect they will give the Kingdom and world some solid and satisfactory reasons of this their dissent, against which there is so great reason in the premisses, dissents without reasons to back them, being no wayes satisfactory to any man.

20 December 1648.

Col. Bosvill,
Lord Gray,
Peregrine Pelham,
Col. Jones,
Col. Temple,
Col. Ven,
Sir Tho. Malivory,
Sir John Bouchier,

Col. Peter Temple,
Humphry Edwards,
(whose elect. is void,
Mr. Tho. Challoner.
Sir Gregory Norton,
Michael Oldesworth
Augustin Garland,
Sir Iohn Danvers.
Mr. Dove.

Mr. Hen. Smith.
Mr. Fry, (whose election, is long since voted void)
Mr. Serle,
Nicholas Love,
John Lisle.
Col. Rigby,
Cornelius

Cornelius Holland
Col. Ludlow
Gregory Clement
Col. Purefoy
Col. Stapely
Mr. Dunch
Mr. Cawley
Col. Downes

John Carey
John Blackstone
Thomas Scot

December 21
Col. Hutchinson
Sir Henry Mildmay
Sir Jam. Harrington

25 Decemb.
Col. Edward Harvey
Alderman Pennington
Alderman Atkin
Dan. Blagrove (voted out
of the house.
Colonel Moor
Gilbert Millington

Note.

In a Letter from *Paris*, writ by an Independent Agent there, to an Independent Member of the House of Commons, a great friend of the Armies, dated *Paris* Nov. 28. 1648, there is this passage: *I am fallen into the acquaintance of three or four Catholicks of great ingenuity, and in their way, of much Religion: undoubtedly, it is an error to look at all Papists through the same perspective; for they are more to be differenced then English Protestants can be. I finde their opinion of, and dependance upon the Pope, little or nothing what we imagined it to be, and better principled. To make Members of a free Commonwealth, then the most English. Their opposition to the King is not to be reconciled. Their hopes now are upon the Army, to whom they wish all prosperity as to the settling of a Representative, being extremely dissatisfied with Regal hereditary Power through the world.*

This Letter compared with the close of the fore going Speech, the Armies late force upon both Houses and their Members to dissolve them, their imprisoning and removing the King to bring him to tryall, their voting at their generall Council of War at White-hall the 23 of December last [carried by two voyces] " That all Papists should have free liberty and toleration of conscience, " and all Sequestrations and forfeitures as Papists only, taken off. Their earnest prosecution of the new Jesuiticall Representative, to divide the whole kingdom into bloody feuds and factions to destroy one another, and make way for the common forraign Popish Enemies, to invade and conquer us in our present low condition, without any opposition, and lose Ireland past all recovery; their casting of the eminent imprisoned Members into hell it self in highest contempt and scorn; their setting up a new Parliameat of State, and a Convocation too at White-hall, as the supreme Council, to vote, settle and determine all affairs of Church and State, and new mould the whole Government of this Kingdom; with the Petition of *Robert de Luke* to the General within these few dayes, for him and his fellow-Messengers, authorized by the State to apprehend Priests and Jesuits, for his Warrant to apprehend the Jesuits and Priests in his Army and Quarters without any Officers disturbance, where they have discovered many of them since their march to London; their present compliance with Sir *John Winter* the archest Jesuited Papist (a person excepted in the Propositions) and using him and Sir *Toby Matthews* that pragmaticall Jesuite, to draw *Owen Rob Oneal*, and the bloody Popish Rebels in Ireland, to joyn with them against Monarchy and the Princes Title; with their late extraordinary favours to Priests and Papists, of which they boast; the repealing of the Oaths of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance*

Allegeance (made principally against the Pope, Papists, and their Jesuiticall U-rsurpations, Innovations and Antimonarchicall practices, of excommunicating, deposing, dis-inheriting and murdering our Protestant Princes; and their manifold Treasons, Conspiracies and attempts upon their Persons, Crowns and Kingdoms.) Their late illegal and treasonable murdering and beheading of the King, and the late Petition of the Army that all imprisoned for their conscience, or Religion, may be released, extending unto Popish Priests and Jesuits, and purposely intended for their benefit, there being none else but such restrained, and but few of them: And their present a^ctings are a cleer evidence to every rational mans conscience, that all the Armies present counsels, designs, force, and proceedings against the King, Prince, Parliament, Members and their new pretended Representative, are but the Jesuits and Roman Catholicks Brats Impositions and undermining Projects, to accomplish their own ends; and that they have already got the greatest sway in all their consultations and proceedings, of purpose to work our speedy ruine, if the Officers and Army will neither timely discern nor repent of it, and be no longer spurred on and ridden with a full career by these Jesuiticall Furies, who fear a discovery ere they have completed their work, and therefore make such post haste to accomplish it by the Armies present distempers, uncapable yet of better counsel, or timely informations, to recall them from their own approaching speedy ruine, their ears being so deafned, and their brains so intoxicated with their Jesuiticall Enchantments, which all the Kingdom and world will now clearly discover, and I hope the Officers and Army will do so too by this discovery of them, and thereupon repent of all their violence and late proceedings, at which the Papists at R O M E and in forraign parts do much rejoyce and triumph.

I shall close up all with these words of both Houses of Parliament in their Ordinance of the 1 of April 1643, * *That nothing but RUINE AND DESOLATION CAN BE EXPECTED, unlesse God in mercy prevent it, and incline his* *A Collection on pag. 13.*
Majesties heart to the faithfull advice of his great Council of Parliament (as now he hath done in this Treaty) which hath ever been, and is [under God] the chief support of his royall Dignity, and the security of all we have, or can enjoy.

F I N I S.